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MRS. CALVIN M. MCCLUNG

This issue of the *Publications* is dedicated to Mrs. Calvin M. McClung in recognition of her services in furthering the growth and development of the East Tennessee Historical Society and in promoting an increased knowledge of Tennessee history.

MRS. CALVIN M. McCLUNG

By MARY U. ROTHROCK

This 1958 issue of the East Tennessee Historical Society's annual *Publications* is dedicated to Mrs. Calvin M. McClung, a life member since 1928, in recognition of her services in furthering the growth and development of this Society and in promoting an increased knowledge of Tennessee history.

Barbara (Adair) McClung is a native Georgian, the daughter of Augustus Dixon and Octavia (Hammond) Adair. One of four children, she attended the Atlanta public schools and Vassar College, graduating from the latter in 1901. Her marriage to Calvin M. McClung of Knoxville took place March 6, 1905.

At this time Mr. McClung had partially withdrawn from his very successful business career and was devoting much attention to rounding out his extensive and valuable library of Tennessee history, the assembling of which had been a matter of primary interest to him for twenty years. When he was asked sometimes what was ultimately to become of it, his reply always was that he was going to leave that decision to his wife's good judgement.

Shortly after his death, which occurred March 12, 1919, Mrs. McClung decided to present his historical books and manuscripts to Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville's public library, together with the funds necessary for its complete organization for public use. In thus founding the Calvin M. McClung Historical Collection, she became an outstanding benefactor to the library and the city, and one of Tennessee's most generous donors in the field of history.

The formal opening of the McClung Collection took place on June 15, 1921. At this time the late Dr. George F. Mellen, Mr. McClung's close friend and a fellow collector of Tennesseana, predicted that the Collection would become a Mecca for students of southern history and a lasting memorial which would influence others to add to the Collection, thus constantly enhancing its value and usefulness. He then added the pungent comment: "It would be a miracle of stu-

pidity and a manifestation of inappreciation if there is not straightway formed about this collection a live, vigorous historical society."

In the thirty-seven years since the original gift, Mrs. McClung's interest has never flagged; on the contrary it has steadily increased. To her the Collection has never been a monument, finished and static, but rather a living, growing entity, a means of perpetuating Mr. McClung's keen devotion to the history of Tennessee and of Knoxville. Her fidelity to this concept of an ever-growing memorial has been her unique and greatest contribution.

Her interest has expressed itself concretely in innumerable purchases for the Collection of important materials beyond the reach of the library's normal book budget. An inflexible condition of these gifts has been that she was to have no publicity; the library ledger usually read "from private funds." The following are only a few typical holdings of the Collection which have come wholly or principally through her generosity: photostats of papers in the Spanish Archives in Seville and Madrid; Tennessee, Virginia, and Preston papers from the Draper Collection (Wisconsin Historical Society); microfilms of early Tennessee newspapers from the American Antiquarian Society; microfilms of the *Knoxville Whig,* the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* and the *South Carolina Gazette* from other depositories.

For all these years Mrs. McClung's typewriter, and her own time and historical background, have been at the call of the Collection for copying source materials obtained on temporary loan. Sometimes a typist from the library staff is available; often not. By reason of Mrs. McClung's ready and informed copying the Collection today is many thousands of pages richer in transcripts of letters, journals, church records, and the like than it otherwise would be. Among them are such materials as: the minutes of the Presbytery of Union, 1799-1874 and the diaries of William G. McAdoo, Drury P. Armstrong, and Madame Adrian Chavannes.

Dr. Mellen's prediction that the McClung Collection would become the nucleus around which would gather other important gifts of historical materials began promptly to be fulfilled. The richly historic Nelson and Houk papers, the Buffat, Ault, McTeer, Parham, Hall-Stakely, Nenney, and Graham papers are but a few of those which now belong to the public because the McClung Collection offered both a

means of preserving such treasures and a public-spirited example of making them freely available.

By all these means the McClung Collection has grown and prospered. When it was organized in 1921 it had some two thousand books, a total perhaps of four thousand items in all, including pamphlets, documents, photographs, and maps. In late 1958 its holdings totaled some 10,000 books; twenty collections of manuscripts, comprising many thousands of pieces; photostats and microfilms of Tennessee newspapers and of important colonial files; and many thousand pages of transcripts.

Mention has been made of Dr. Mellen's comment that with the founding of the Collection an historical society should be formed. The propriety of such action was obvious, and its fulfillment came in 1924 when the East Tennessee Historical Society was organized in the McClung Room. This room became its headquarters home and office, and the librarian of the Collection has been almost continuously the Society's secretary. For many years the Society's monthly meetings were held in the McClung Room. The Society and the Collection share essentially the same objectives, namely, to collect, preserve, and make accessible to scholars and general public alike the basic materials of Tennessee history.

Mrs. McClung saw in the Society's annual *Publications,* when it was undertaken in 1929, an opportunity to further stimulate and advance an interest in Tennessee history. Hence she established an annual award in memory of her late husband: the C. M. McClung Award. This is a prize of $50.00 given to the contributor of the best article printed in each issue of the *Publications.* The 1958 award, for the best article in the current issue (No. 30), will be the thirtieth grant of this prize. All of the successive editors of the *Publications,* beginning with the late Samuel Cole Williams, have testified that the Award has been a significant encouragement of scholarly writing in the field of Tennessee history and has assisted materially in enabling the *Publications* to attain and maintain its high reputation among historical periodicals. Most of the recipients have also found significant portions of the historical data accumulated in their research in the McClung Collection of the Lawson McGhee Library. From the list of award winners on the back cover of the *Publications,* one learns that five

individuals won the prize twice: W. B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin; A. C. Hutson, Jr., now business manager of the Knoxville schools; W. T. Jordan, Florida State University; J. H. Parks, recently made head of the Department of History, University of Georgia, and J. B. Campbell, formerly of Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois. Other institutions with which award winners are now connected include the National Archives; the Universities of Tennessee, Chattanooga, Indiana, Missouri, Louisiana State, Southern, Tulane, Kentucky, Northwestern, Sheffield (England), and Alabama; and also Rice Institute, Georgia State College, and East Tennessee State College. The influence of the McClung Award has indeed spread widely over the nation and the world.

The East Tennessee Historical Society takes pleasure in incorporating this appreciation of Mrs. McClung's distinguished services in behalf of Tennessee history for permanent preservation in its 1958 *Publications.*

Col. John Williams

COLONEL JOHN WILLIAMS

By LEOTA DRIVER MAIDEN

In the burial grounds of the First Presbyterian Church at Knoxville, Tennessee, stands a simple marker, now weathered and gray, bearing the inscription:

In Memory of
Col. John Williams
Born Jan. 29, 1778
Died Aug. 10, 1837

A hundred years earlier this modest epitaph probably would have been expanded to record that he was a loving father, a devoted husband, a courageous soldier, an able jurist, a public-spirited citizen, and an unselfish servant of his state and country, both in war and in peace.

Although the records of Colonel Williams' activities belong in the annals of Tennessee, like many another prominent citizen of his time, he was not a native son. Born in Surry County, North Carolina, he was the third of the twelve children—ten sons and two daughters—of Colonel Joseph and Rebecca Lanier Williams.[1] About 1766 Nathaniel, his paternal grandfather, had moved from Hanover County, Virginia, to Granville County, North Carolina.[2] Joseph, then a lad in his teens—his birth date is given as March 27, 1748—was, therefore, a native Virginian. He was of Welsh descent.

Soon after their arrival, he married Rebecca Lanier, the descendant of a French Huguenot family who had left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[3] That they were people of some means is evident from her will proven in August, 1832, in which she mentioned property including a Negro woman obtained from the estate of her father, Thomas Lanier.[4]

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[1] John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1851), II, 409-10. Corrected in pen by a member of the family. Copy supplied by the late W. M. Roberts, of Taylors, South Carolina. See also Mrs. Hayne Davis, "Panther Creek," *The North Carolina Booklet* (Raleigh), III, No. 6 (Oct., 1903), 18-23. The children named are Robert, Joseph, John, Nathaniel, Lewis, Thomas, Alexander, William, James, Nicholas, Rebecca, and Fannie.

[2] Seldon Nelson, "The Williams Name in History," *Knoxville Sentinel*, Jan. 4, 1908.

[3] Davis, "Panther Creek," *loc. cit.*

[4] Will of Rebecca Williams, signed March 29, 1831, Records of Surry County, North Carolina. Copy supplied by the late W. M. Roberts.

Joseph and Rebecca Williams moved from Granville County to Surry and settled about three miles from the Shallow Ford of the Yadkin, at what came to be known as Panther Creek. Here they prospered, acquiring much land and many Negroes. His will, dated January 28, 1812, says that the tracts of adjoining land "whereon I do now live near two thousand five hundred acres, . . . it is impossible to know how much land I do own and may have a right to as a large quantity depends on the decisions of suits that are now and may hereafter be commenced."[5]

In addition to increasing his possessions, he was active in political and military affairs. In 1775 he served as a delegate to the Hillsborough Convention.[6] Although holding the rank of colonel in the colonial army, he resigned this commission and became an officer in the continentals, being appointed a lieutenant-colonel from Surry in 1776.[7]

Accounts differ concerning some of his activities during the Revolution, but they agree on his campaign with General Griffith Rutherford against the Overhill Cherokee Indians from September to November, 1776. He was in command of the troops from Surry, who joined those from Virginia under Colonel William Christian. Together they marched against those Indians living along the Little Tennessee River believed to be under British influence. Within approximately two months their towns had been burned, their supplies ravaged, and treaties concluded with all inclined to be friendly. Colonel Christian estimated that 50,000 bushels of corn and from 10,000 to 15,000 bushels of potatoes together with great numbers of fat cattle, hogs, and poultry of every kind were appropriated without restraint by the soldiers, or otherwise destroyed. The effect of this campaign in discouraging active participation by these Indians on the side of the British during the Revolution cannot be estimated.[8]

While in the Cherokee country, Colonel Williams passed the site of the junction of the Holston and the Tennessee rivers, or in present day nomenclature, of the Tennessee and the Little Tennessee at Lenoir City. Upon returning home, he urged the erection of a fort there to be

[5] Will of Col. Joseph Williams, Sr., *ibid.*

[6] Wheeler, *Historical Sketches,* 409. This convention set up a provisional government for North Carolina.

[7] *Ibid.;* Nelson, "Williams Family Name," *loc. cit.*

[8] Samuel C. Williams, "Col. Joseph Williams' Battalion in Christian's Campaign," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1915-1937), IX (1926), 104-111.

garrisoned by North Carolina troops. "I never saw any better formed by nature," he reported.[9] His interest in the western country survived the campaign. When in 1779 the state line was about to be surveyed, he obtained command of the battalion which guarded the commissioners and the surveyors to Cumberland Gap and beyond.[10] One may conjecture the influence of this interest upon the four sons who later became identified with the history of Tennessee.

Whether Colonel Joseph Williams took part in the battle at King's Mountain is uncertain. Lyman Draper says that he was prevented from such participation by wounds received in the fight against the Tories at Colson's. However, a tradition has persisted among his descendants that he was present and active at this defeat of the British.[11]

Be that as it may, events during those years revealed the stern stuff of which Rebecca Williams was made. Before leaving home, Colonel Joseph had stored up supplies for the family—a wife and three sons. During the latter part of the war, news reached Mrs. Williams of the approach of Lord Cornwallis' army. Taking an old Negro woman and the children, an infant son two weeks old having been added to the group, she hid in the woods until the enemy had crossed the river at Shallow Ford. Returning home, she found almost everything destroyed, only the house and the Negro quarters not burned. Deprived of necessities, especially for the smaller children, she determined to return to Granville County, where her father's family still lived. After arranging as best she could for the servants and the two older boys, she made the journey on horseback, alone except for the sick baby in her lap and a boy of two and one-half, the future Colonel John Williams, behind her.[12]

With the coming of peace, the Williamses resumed life at Panther Creek. That they prospered is evidenced by Colonel Joseph's will probated in 1827. Nicholas, the youngest son, inherited the home, where he lived in ease and affluence until the Civil War. The house was colonial in style, and the garden became widely known for its hedges,

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[9] *Ibid.*, 103.

[10] Walter Clark (ed.), *State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1895-1905), XIV, 109, 117, 139, 144, 145.

[11] Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes* (Cincinnati, 1881), 116. *Cf.* Nelson, "Williams Family Name," *loc. cit.*

[12] Davis, "Panther Creek," *loc. cit.*, 18.

flowers, and shrubbery.[13] A photograph shows a two-story white clapboard structure with wide porches enclosed by banisters.

Developing their sons into useful citizens also formed an integral part of the activities of Joseph and Rebecca Williams. Although eight of the ten became well known, the career of only one is of immediate concern to us, John, whose achievements are a notable chapter in the history of Tennessee.

Before leaving his native North Carolina, he had studied law in Salisbury.[14] His father's will noted that "Robert & John are at the Bar, I do conceive that each of them cost me at least five hundred dollars over & above their schooling expenses, etc. to obtain their legal knowledge & furnish them with such books as I have done."[15] About 1800 or soon thereafter he came to Knoxville.[16] On January 11, 1803,

> John Williams appeared and produced a License authorizing him to practice as an Attorney at Law in the severall Courts of Law and Equity in this State, who took an Oath to support the Constitution of the United States, an Oath to support the Constitution of the State of Tennessee, and also the Oath prescribed by Law for Attornies, who is admitted as an Attorney of this Court.[17]

During the following five years, his appearances in the courts were numerous, both as prosecutor and as defense counsel. He also served occasionally as a temporary judge of the superior court of law and equity, acting under a special commission in the place of one of the regular judges, usually David Campbell, whenever he was absent or disqualified himself because of personal interest in a case before the court.[18] Such appointments were expressions of considerable confidence in a young lawyer but recently admitted to the bar within the state.

Not all his energy was directed toward advancement in the legal profession, however. In 1799, before leaving his native state, he had been initiated into the Masonic Order in Johnston-Caswell Lodge, No. 10, at Warrenton, North Carolina. After coming to Tennessee, he became a member of Overton Lodge, No. 5, at Rogersville, Hawkins

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[13] *Ibid.*, 22.

[14] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, D. C., 1950), 2019.

[15] Will, Col. Joseph Williams, *loc. cit.*

[16] Nelson, "Williams Family Name," *loc. cit.*

[17] Records of Knox County, Record Book No. 4, 1802-1805 (Knox County Courthouse, Knoxville), 101.

[18] *Ibid.*, 316, 325, 327-28, 331, 332, 339; Records of Knox County, Hamilton District Superior Court of Law and Equity, Minute Book No. 1 (Knox County Courthouse, Knoxville), 199, 202, 203, 206, 239-41.

County, the second oldest lodge in the state, chartered by the Grand Lodge of North Carolina. When in 1813 a convention met at Knoxville to form a Grand Lodge in Tennessee, he served as a representative from Overton. Evidently he had been an officer from its institution, for in 1807 he paid for its charter.[19]

As evidence of his early interest in military affairs, he served as a captain of the Sixth Infantry from April 23, 1799, to June 15, 1800.[20] Handsome and not averse to romance, about 1805 he married Malinda White, daughter of General James White, the founder of Knoxville. She could have been only about sixteen, for her birth date is recorded as February 15, 1789. Their eldest son, Joseph L., was born on October 23, 1807. In 1807 John Williams, with such other Tennessee notables as George W. Campbell, John Sevier, Archibald Roane, and Francis Ramsey, was appointed a trustee of East Tennessee College.[21]

That he did not neglect his chosen profession during this time is shown by a publication of A. S. Outlaw, relative to judgments against his land by John Campbell and Samuel Newell, for whom John Williams was attorney.[22] Neither were military matters overlooked, for in December, 1809, he informed Pleasant M. Miller, then in Congress, that he had advanced $1,620 to Colonel Return J. Meigs, from whom he had procured a bill on the Secretary of War. It evidently had been lost in the mails, and he was requesting Miller to investigate the matter.[23]

The first record of a transaction between Williams and Andrew Jackson, who was to become his superior officer and admirer but later his bitter enemy, is dated 1810. On December 15 of that year he signed a bill of sale for three Negroes "for the sum of eight hundred and fifty dollars to me in hand paid by Andrew Jackson of county of Davidson."[24] This sale, as well as the loan to Colonel Meigs, would suggest

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[19] Charles A. Snodgrass, *The History of Free Masonry in Tennessee, 1789-1843* (Nashville, 1944), 44, 282, 424.

[20] Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army,* 2 vols. (Washington, 1903), I, 1041.

[21] Mary U. Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country* (Knoxville, 1941), 506; Nelson, "Williams Family Name," *loc. cit.; Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* Aug. 17, 1807.

[22] *Ibid.,* July 22, 1809.

[23] John Williams to P. M. Miller (Enclosure, John Williams to P. M. Miller), Rogersville, Dec. 3, 1809. Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, The National Archives (Washington, D. C.), Record Group 94. Hereafter records in the National Archives are indicated by the symbol NA, followed by the record group (RG) number.

[24] Jackson Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), Second Series, I.

that material prosperity came to him within the first ten years of his residence in Tennessee.

Also he was becoming influential politically. In December, 1811, a mass meeting of Knox County citizens passed resolutions condemning Archibald Roane for resigning his seat in the legislature to accept a judgeship. Roane addressed a reply, directing it to "John Williams, Pleasant M. Miller and Co.," who, he intimated, were the moving spirits of this gathering.[25]

In the *Gazette* of January 27 Williams published his reply, couched in terms which reveal him as a master of fearless statements, with no personal feelings spared. The Judge, he said, was attempting to represent himself as a victim of persecution. To succeed, he would be obliged to show that the meeting was attended only by his enemies,—an impossibility, because it was held after ten days' public notice. At that assemblage, Roane was arraigned and charged with faithlessness and misdemeanors. Thereupon the citizenry had passed a sentence of condemnation, which he now was pretending to regard as the verdict of individuals only. Evidence, said Williams, convicted him on two counts: 1. To promote his own interests, he had voted to recede from an amendment proposed in the senate to the enumeration bill, which amendment after mature consideration he previously had advocated; 2. To provide himself with an office, he had deserted his post as a member of the senate while measures the most deeply significant to his constituents of any which occupied the attention of the legislature during the session still were undetermined. The reply concluded with the scathing observation, "I too often have seen you staggering through the streets of Knoxville with intoxication to believe you qualified to preside over our lives, liberties, and fortunes."[26]

Then followed years filled primarily with military and political services. When, in June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain, the people of Tennessee experienced a peculiar elation. Spain was a close ally of England and probably would join in the hostilities. Such a situation would present to the frontiersmen a chance for reprisals on that country as well as Great Britain.[27]

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[25] *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, Dec. 9, 1811-Jan. 6, 1812, *passim*.
[26] *Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1812.
[27] Samuel C. Williams, "A Forgotten Campaign," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, VIII (1924), 266.

Early in November Governor Willie Blount received President James Madison's request for 1,500 militia from Middle Tennessee for service in New Orleans or in West Florida, then held by the Spaniards. The East Tennessee troops of Major General John Cocke were disappointed at not being offered participation. Colonel Williams, then adjutant general, conceived a plan for an independent volunteer campaign.[28] In fact, some such procedure had been fomenting in his mind for several months. On September 1 he informed Colonel Edmund P. Gaines that he had commenced raising a company of mounted infantrymen, believing a corps of that type would be useful not only against the Indians but in other operations as well. This opinion, he added, had been strengthened by Colonel Gaines' concurrence. He would use his best exertions, he promised, to organize 1,000 such troops and asked authority to use Gaines' name in commending the project to his fellow citizens. Both his pride and his ambition would be gratified, he added, by being selected to command such men as would voluntarily enroll in the company; to efface the stigma his country's honor had sustained and to overwhelm with destruction "our British and Indian foes" would afford the highest temporal satisfaction.[29]

Both the *Knoxville Gazette* and the *Nashville Clarion* carried an "Address to the People of East Tennessee," signed by Colonel Williams, which urged a voluntary command to aid Georgia in checking the hostile Indians. Major General John Cocke, the "Address" said, had enrolled as a common soldier. The requirements stipulated that "Each soldier must be mounted on a strong horse, armed with a musket or rifle (at his election), with a brace of pistols, if to be procured, a tomahawk and a butcher's knife—dressed in black hat, black hunting shirt or roundabout and pantaloons."[30]

On December 3 Colonel Williams reported results to President Madison:

> Upon short notice one hundred and sixty five mounted men convened at this place on Tuesday the first of this month and will march on tomorrow under my command for St. Johns where it will afford us pleasure to execute the orders of the President. In executing your orders not a man in the corps will entertain constitutional scruples on the subject of *boundaries*.[31]

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[28] *Ibid.*, 267.
[29] Printed in *Knoxville Gazette,* Oct. 12, 1812.
[30] Williams, "A Forgotten Campaign," *loc. cit.,* 267.
[31] John Williams to James Madison, Knoxville, Dec. 3, 1812, NA, RG 94.

An extract from the letter of an unidentified gentleman in Knoxville, dated December 4, to his friend in Nashville probably summarized the general interest and approbation of the expedition:

> Col. Williams with about 150 mounted Infantry Volunteers (amongst whom were many of your particular friends) marched this morning for the southern frontiers of Georgia. They are well equipped and well mounted, and are unquestionably not only the most respectable citizens of East Tennessee, but are by far the finest looking men for the number I have seen together — They go firmly resolved to *act* — They will, I am persuaded, do their duty.[32]

In support of the statement concerning the personnel of this company, one needs merely to scan the roster of the Volunteer Infantry Regiment of East Tennessee Mounted Infantry to recognize such names as Captain Samuel Bunch, Thomas L. Williams, Hugh Lawson White, B. I. White, Judge William Cocke and his son, General John Cocke, Pleasant Miller, Enoch Parsons, and Alexander Outlaw.[33]

Even before immediate hostilities threatened in 1812, the United States had recognized the importance of acquiring the Floridas. In fact, it seems probable that General George Matthews had been sent as a secret agent to help in fomenting a revolution there which might serve as a pretext for the federal forces to occupy that region. Such efforts resulted in the Patriot's War and temporary occupation, which was prolonged.[34] The Seminole Indians were dominated by the Spanish and, in consequence, were the scourge of the Georgian settlements along the St. Mary's River. Never were Tennesseans tardy in responding when an opportunity came to strike a blow at the savage menace. When, in addition, other traditional enemies might be discomfited, all personal considerations were disregarded. Under such conditions the mounted infantry was organized.

On December 11 the force camped near Asheville, from which place Colonel Williams wrote to Governor D. B. Mitchell of Georgia, reiterating his belief that the United States government shortly would occupy the Floridas, that aid would be needed by the Georgia troops, and that for this reason "I determined to collect a volunteer force from East Tennessee and march to the scene of action." He reported his

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[32] *Nashville Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* Dec. 15, 1812.

[33] Nelson, "Williams Family Name," *loc. cit.;* Williams, "A Forgotten Campaign," *loc. cit.,* 272-73.

[34] Paul Kruse, "A Secret Agent in East Florida: General George Matthews and the Patriot War," *The Journal of Southern History* (Lexington, Ky.), XVIII (1952), 193-95.

command as about 200 well mounted and well equipped men and requested directions as to where to go.[35]

In reply Governor Mitchell, on December 24, 1812, suggested Point Petre or Coleman, on the St. Mary's River, as a place of rendezvous. On January 6, 1813, General Thomas Flournoy at St. Mary's informed General Thomas Pinckney that a deputation of the Tennessee Volunteers had waited upon him with a letter. Evidently this was the communication from Colonel Williams, entrusted to Thomas L. Williams and Peter Parsons for safe delivery. "I have directed Col. Williams," General Flournoy reported, "to arrive at Camp Pinckney (the place of the new Encampment above Colerain) tomorrow when I shall meet them, and with the least possible delay, send them against the Indians."[36]

General Pinckney forwarded both General Flournoy's and Colonel Williams' letters to the Secretary of War and asked for instructions concerning the East Tennessee Volunteers. Ten days later he reported that they had arrived but directions were still lacking. He was especially anxious because he had read in the *National Intelligencer* that their services would not be required "in consequence of the act authorizing an augmentation of the regular forces"; but he added, "I have gladly availed myself of the services of these Volunteers for the purpose of protecting the country and of subduing the savages who have committed hostilities, particularly the Seminoles." The expedition, he thought, would be of short duration, for the Indians were much dispersed and the distance to their towns not considerable. He must be directed, therefore, he concluded, whether to retain the Volunteers for further service or to dismiss them upon their return and allow them pay and emoluments authorized by the Volunteers' Act.[37]

That General Flournoy did hasten to avail himself of their services is proved by another communication from General Pinckney to the Secretary of War on February 10. A letter from that officer, he said, stated that the Volunteers to the number of about 250, including a few Georgians, had marched from their camp last Wednesday against the Indian towns of the Seminoles. Colonel T. A. Smith with not less than

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[35] Printed in *Nashville Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* Feb. 9, 1813.

[36] Extract of a letter from General Flournoy to General Pinckney, St. Mary's, Jan. 6, 1813, NA, RG 94.

[37] Pinckney to Secretary of War, Jan. 19, 29, 1813, *ibid.*

200 Regulars had been directed to leave his camp on the St. John's in time to meet them near the first Indian town: "should the plan be carried into effect, they will this night [February 6, 1813] fall upon several of their villages."[38]

As for the success of the Volunteers, Colonel Williams' lengthy report to General Flournoy is most conclusive. After outlining complete details concerning the movements of the troops from February 7 to the conclusion of their invasion of Seminole territory, he concluded:

> On every day during our stay in the Nation detachments were actively engaged in collecting provisions and burning houses . . . . We found a tolerable supply of corn for our Horses and a plenty of beef for ourselves. We burnt 336 houses in the different Villages together with a great quantity of property: We took from the enemy about 250 horses and between three and four hundred Cattle. We were unable to visit the black Hammoch Town for the want of a Pilot. The balance of the Seminole Nation is completely in waste. On all occasions the Tennessee Volunteers supported the toils and dangers of the campaign with the same spirit which animated them in making a tender of their services.[39]

The report of Colonel Smith varies but little, except as to the amount of destruction inflicted:

> We burnt three hundred & eighty houses, consumed and destroyed from fifteen hundred to two thousand bushels of corn; three hundred horses & about four hundred cattle were collected, many of which were lost in attempting to drive them in, two thousand deer skins were found in Bowlegged's magazine, part of which were used by the troops, the others destroyed.

He added, also, that "the weather was extremely bad during the whole of this incursion, the men were much fatigued by their constant employment in scouring hammocks."[40]

General Flournoy expressed satisfaction with the results of the campaign: "I am unwilling to magnify the success of the enterprise, but there is no doubt but that the enemy have received severe chastisement for their inconsideration and hasty determination to take up the tomahawk against us."[41] On March 8 General Pinckney forwarded these reports together with a commendation of his own to the Secretary of War.[42]

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[38] *Id.* to *id.*, Feb. 10, 1813, *ibid.*

[39] Report of Col. John Williams on the Expedition in East Florida, Camp in East Florida, Feb. 23, 1813, *ibid.*

[40] Copy of Report of Col. T. A. Smith to Gen. Flournoy, Camp New Hope, St. John's, Feb. 24, 1813, *ibid.*

[41] Flournoy to Pinckney, St. Mary's, Feb. 27, 1813, *ibid.*

[42] Pinckney to Secretary of War, Mar. 8, 1813, *ibid.*

Military officials were not alone in expressing appreciation for the services of the Volunteers. The mayor and aldermen of Savannah, Georgia, tendered "their thanks, gratitude, and applause."[43] Governor Willie Blount added his congratulations for the movement and conduct of these troops, who marched upwards of 600 miles, supplying themselves until their services had been accepted by the national government.[44]

General Pinckney's question of whether the Volunteers were to be retained or dismissed once their announced objective had been accomplished still remained on his doorstep while he waited for information concerning the intentions of the government in relation to East Florida. Their consumption of forage was considerable in a country not abounding in that article, and immediate disposition was important. By February 26 the issue had been decided, "The Tennessee Volunteers shall be dismissed."[45]

In mapping their return, Colonel Williams found it necessary for them to follow several routes, because of the difficulty of obtaining forage for the horses and food for the men. General Flournoy estimated the cost to ration them and gave Williams $2,000 in money instead of supplies:

> If the payment of this money should be considered irregular, I have to reply I did it because I thought it best. Knowing that the public could not lose by it, & also knowing that the Volunteers were entitled to pay (having merited it) & that in due time they would receive full compensation for their services & remuneration for private losses sustained.[46]

General Pinckney commented in his communication to the Secretary of War that the amount would not exceed one month's pay for a detachment of infantry of the same force, and, therefore, the United States could not lose by this payment.[47]

In his report to Governor Blount, Colonel Williams said that the Volunteers were discharged by General Flournoy on February 25, 1813, after which they returned to Knoxville, where they were mustered out.[48] Thus was successfully concluded a venture unique in mili-

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[43] Resolutions, Savannah, Ga., Mar. 8, 1813, *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* Apr. 5, 1813.

[44] Blount to Williams, Nashville, June 13, 1813, *ibid.,* July 5, 1813.

[45] Pinckney to Secretary of War, Feb. 23, 26, 1813, NA, RG 94.

[46] Flournoy to Pinckney, St. Mary's, Mar. 4, 1813, *ibid.*

[47] Pinckney to Secretary of War, Charleston, Mar. 16, 1813, *ibid.*

[48] Report, Col. Williams to Gov. Blount, Knoxville, Mar. 25, 1813, *Nashville Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* July 13, 1813.

tary activities: a group which armed and equipped themselves travelled hundreds of miles to vanquish an enemy who did not threaten them. They devastated the villages of the Seminoles and drove the survivors into Spanish territory, carrying hostilities to foreign soil without embroiling the government of the United States with the Spanish authorities.

In the meantime, war with the lower Creeks seemingly had become inevitable. Both British and Spanish influences were at work, inciting the Indians against the American settlers in that region. In recognition of his success with the East Tennessee Volunteers, on June 18, 1813, John Williams was commissioned as colonel of the 39th United States Infantry and authorized to recruit and organize this group, a regiment destined to win fame for its officer and itself by further helping to end the Indian menace in the Old Southwest.

Recruiting 600 men apparently was an easier matter than providing them with the necessary equipment. Many of the Volunteers re-enlisted for service, drawn by loyalty to their former commanding officer or the possibility of striking additional blows at the hated savage enemy. In July Colonel Williams complained of the difficulty encountered in obtaining funds for the 39th, "Since banks refuse to honor more drafts upon the U. S. It appears that specie will have to be waggoned from Baltimore to meet expenses." In October he again reported that no funds had been received for the contingent services of the regiment.[49]

Some uncertainty as to the immediate use of this group seems to have developed, for Governor Willie Blount observed that it could be recruited in a very short time if it were directed to march against the Creeks in Georgia. It should be allowed to conduct a winter campaign in the South, he believed, and then sent north the next spring, if necessary.[50] Apparently, Blount's aim was to insure the services of these regulars for Jackson and the militia in his proposed campaign against the Creeks. Certainly Jackson was counting on their aid and was using whatever approaches were open to guarantee it: "Please signify to

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[49] Williams to John Sevier, Knoxville, July 12, 1813; Williams to Secretary of War, Nashville, Oct. 11, 1813, NA, RG 94.

[50] Blount to Secretary of War, Aug. 28, 1813, *ibid.*

Colo. Williams," he wrote, "my wishes to be Joined by him before I make the movement (against the Creeks)."[51]

For several months much confusion in military authority seems to have existed in the area, and the 39th Regiment was the victim of conflicting orders. General Flournoy still commanded the Seventh Military District; General Pinckney, formerly of the Sixth, now was placed over the Seventh likewise, or "to so much of District no. 7 as may come within the operations necessary to the prosecution of the Creek war."[52] Apparently, the original intent of the War Department had been to make him responsible for directing the expedition against the Creeks.[53] By the time the atmosphere had cleared, however, General Flournoy had retired, and the 39th had been under orders to join Jackson's forces and to defend New Orleans at the same time. Seemingly, only Jackson's insistence plus his access to the ears of influential persons, notably Governor Blount, and perhaps the preferences of the Colonel and his men kept them in position for the battle of the Horse Shoe.

On December 23, 1813, General Pinckney ordered Colonel Williams to join Jackson, unless he had positive orders from the War Department "to employ your Regiment when raised, on any other expedition you will obey that order notwithstanding the enclosed."[54] On January 4, 1814, Jackson wrote to Governor Blount:

> I hope the order of Genl. Pinckney is so explicit the delays & difficulties with which I have been surrounded will be speedily removed by the promptness of the execution of your orders, and the speedy arrival of my friend Col Williams with his Regt.[55]

Two days later he was "exceedingly pleased with the promptness with which he [Colonel Williams] is disposed to aid in the present campaign, and with his happy anticipation of Genl. Pinckneys order, which before this he will have recd."[56] Years later, when discussing Jackson's bitter enmity toward him, Williams recalled that he had "risked my commd. & my fortune" by marching to his aid in violation of the orders

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[51] Jackson to Blount, Fort Deposit, Nov. 29, 1813, J. S. Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* 6 vols. and index (Washington, 1926-1935), I, 362.

[52] To Gen. Flournoy, Mar. 2, 1814, Military Book, 1813-1814, NA, RG 94.

[53] Pinckney to Williams, Milledgeville, Dec. 23, 1813, NA, RG 94.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Jackson to Blount, Ft. Strother, Jan. 4, 1814, Jackson Letters and Orders, D, Jackson Papers.

[56] Jackson to Hugh L. White, Jan. 6, 1814, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 435.

of the War Department.[57] But the human mind often is fickle in remembering obligations. As will be seen later, he did not receive the conflicting orders he had in mind until after he had joined Jackson, and the orders were then modified at the General's request.

A letter of January 7 detailed to Colonel Williams the dire need for his troops: "Never were your services more needed than at the present moment. I am almost destitute of an army."[58] Proof had just been handed to Jackson that Colonel William Lillard's 2nd Regiment, East Tennessee Volunteers, would not remain after their term of enlistment expired on January 14: "I entreated, in the most pressing manner I knew how, the continuation of their services for only 20 days beyond the period of their engagement. This was putting both their sincerity and patriotism to the teste. . . ."[59] In spite of his pleading, only Captain William Hamilton and two of his men, his father and his nephew, agreed to stay.

According to one account, Colonel Lillard was asked to ascertain the opinions of his men. They insisted upon marching home by the fourteenth or sooner. One captain who prided himself on his straightforward manner of expression said, "I Stated that If we head not bin Decived by hour General Someney times that we wold bin willing to Stay and to Serve good officers." The fact that only three men enrolled for longer service "made the old Vilion Sware outrageous. he said we head acted with great imposition to make amock of him and the rest of the officers; he was greaved to the heart to think we thought nomore of him."[60] At best, Jackson's position was not enviable.

Meanwhile, General Flournoy was pleading with Governor Blount and General Pinckney to send at least five hundred men for the defense of Mobile; at the same time he directed Colonel Williams to send his recruits with the least possible delay to New Orleans.[61] General Pinckney, however, fully cognizant of Jackson's need, remained firm in his orders to Williams and ordered the recruiting of additional militia.[62]

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[57] Williams to Martin Van Buren, Mar. 22, 1831, Van Buren Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), XIII.

[58] Jackson to Williams, Ft. Strother, Jan. 7, 1814, Jackson Letter Book, D (Jackson Papers), 258.

[59] Jackson to Blount, Jan. 7, 1814, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 437.

[60] Mary Hardin McCown (ed.), "The J. Hartsell Memora," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 12 (1940), 140-41.

[61] Flournoy to Secretary of War, New Orleans, Jan. 1, 1814, NA, RG 94.

[62] Pinckney to Jackson, Jan. 9, 1814, *ibid.*

On January 12, before these orders arrived, the 39th Regiment marched from Knoxville to meet forces from West (now Middle) Tennessee at Fort Deposit. No provisions had arrived, but military stores had been supplied by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington Sevier. Williams wrote: "My force of about six hundred effective men will add much to the Security of Gen. Jacksons present position."[63] Apparently, some artillery was included among the equipment, for on January 18 the quartermaster-general was ordered to provide "four strong horses to hawl a few pieces of artillery belonging to Colo. Williams's Regt."[64] From Huntsville Williams informed Jackson that of the six hundred men, 180 were armed. The remainder would have to be provided for upon their arrival. Colonel Lillard's conduct was to be deplored: "I am mortified to hear of Col. Lillard's conduct. It is disgraceful in the extreme. A petty coat ought to be presented to him."[65]

By February 4 Colonel Williams received the conflicting orders already mentioned. Much perplexed, he immediately requested General Jackson's advice: "I am at a loss to know what to do. Whether to remain with you where my services are so much needed or proceed to New Orleans."[66] Naturally, the General's opinion was easily determined: "Your services with your Regt. added to my regular force is all important. . . . I have to request that you remain with me until I hear from Maj Genl. Pinckney."[67]

Posthaste, two communications were forwarded to General Pinckney, the first accompanied by a copy of Jackson's letter to Colonel Williams. In the first the General expressed the belief that with the retention of the 39th Regiment, the Creek War could be concluded quickly enough for the troops to reach Mobile as soon as they could arrive in New Orleans by water. In the second, he added:

> I shall be able with Colo. Williamss Regt. the 39th to sweep the Coose [Coosa] and cahaba, cross the coose at its Eastern Bank and scour the Hickory Ground, form a junction with the Georgians and with your promised aid of supplies in fifteen days thereafter destroy every warrier on the Tallipoose . . . . With Colo. Williamss Regt. this can be effected in a short time.[68]

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[63] Williams to Secretary of War, Knoxville, Jan. 13, 1814, *ibid.*

[64] Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 442n. See also Jackson to Williams, Ft. Strother, Jan. 15, 1814, Jackson Letter Book, E, 15.

[65] Jan. 22, 1814, Jackson Papers, XVI.

[66] Williams to Jackson, Feb. 4, 1814, Jackson Letter Book, E, 43.

[67] Jackson to Williams, Feb. 4, 1814, Jackson Letters and Orders, E, 43.

[68] Jackson to Pinckney, Feb. 4, 1814, *ibid.,* 45-48; *id.* to *id.,* Fort Strother, Feb. 5, 1814, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 457-58.

To another officer he added: "If he (Colonel Williams) is taken from me my whole prop is gone and I will have to risque my character and the Public Service upon raw & inexperienced troops again—commanded by perhaps raw and inexperienced officers."[69]

While waiting a reply from General Pinckney, Jackson appointed Colonel Williams to serve on a general court martial on February 15 of Captain James Harris, who with three of his fellow captains was to be tried for sedition, mutiny, desertion, and disobedience to orders. The General wrote: "The trial will be important both as it relates to the government & prisoners—and it is necessary that this appointment be filled with talent and experience, that complete justice be done to all."[70]

The circumstances from which these charges resulted seem to have been an outgrowth of the confused military situation of the time, especially as it concerned the militia. These officers and their men had offered themselves for a tour of three months' duty. With such understanding, they had marched under the command of Brigadier-General Isaac Roberts to a point within three miles of Fort Strother. There they remained while Roberts secured Jackson's agreement to the terms of enlistment. When a report was read that the General would receive no one for less than six months, they understood that the choice of enlisting for that length of time or of returning home was left to them. They chose to leave; they were not ordered to march to Fort Strother or to return after they had started; the next news to reach them was "we were reported as deserters."[71] On February 18, 1814, the captains were convicted on charges of mutiny and were sentenced to suspension from military command for twelve months together with the loss of pay due them. The penalties would have been heavier had it not appeared that their superior officer, Brigadier-General Roberts, was largely responsible.[72]

Before the completion of the trial, on February 17, General Pinckney had complied with Jackson's request that the 39th Regiment remain with him. "Believe me, General," Jackson replied, "that this is

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[69] Jackson to Maj. John Reid, Feb. 8, 1814, Jackson Papers, Second Series, II.

[70] Jackson to Williams, Feb. 9, 1814, Jackson Letters and Orders, E, 55. See also p. 67.

[71] Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 454-56.

[72] *Ibid.*, 456n.

truly pleasing and will give certainty to a speedy termination of the creek war."[73]

By March 14 all was in readiness for the advance. Williams and the 39th were in charge of provisions and quartermaster's stores on board the boats, with instructions to be ready at a moment's notice to take them down the river.[74] Finally, on the morning of March 18, the fleet started. Three days later, on the evening of March 21, it arrived within two miles of Fort Williams, named for the Colonel. Navigating the Coosa had been extremely difficult, he reported.[75]

Then, on March 27, came the battle of Horse Shoe Bend, or Tohopeka, which destroyed the Creek warriors as an effective resisting force. In his report to Governor Blount, Jackson said:

> The regular troops, led on by their intrepid and skillful commander Col. Williams, and by the gallant Major Montgomery were presently in possession of the nearer side of the breast-work; and the militia accompanied them in the charge with a vivacity and firmness which could not have been exceeded and has seldom been equalled by troops of any description.

To these words of commendation he added, "The loss of Col. Williams' reg't of Regulars is seventeen killed and fifty five wounded; three of whom have since died."[76]

In this engagement the 39th Regiment carried a flag made for it by Miss Mary McClung. It is described as being about 24x36 inches in dimensions, of silk, elaborately embroidered. In the upper right hand corner were the stars; in the center was an eagle, erect, wings extended, across his breast a shield of red, white, and blue, and in his talons, six arrows. At the bottom of the banner were a kettle drum with sticks, a cannon mounted on a two-wheeled carriage, a powder keg, and a horn. The figures showed, also, a swab, a rifle, an ax, and a tomahawk, all of the most exquisite workmanship, the colors being especially remarkable for their truth to nature. Sam Houston, who was so severely wounded that recovery seemed impossible, was the bearer.[77]

Evidently the injuries suffered by the regiment were more extensive

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[73] Pinckney to Secretary of War, Feb. 17, 1814, NA, RG 94; Jackson to Pinckney, Feb. 17, 1814, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 464-65.

[74] Jackson to Williams, Mar. 14, 1814, Jackson Papers, XVIII.

[75] Williams to Jackson, Fort Williams, Mar. 22, 1814, *ibid.*

[76] Jackson to Gov. Blount, Mar. 31, 1814, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 492. See also Jackson to Pinckney, Mar. 28, 1814, *ibid.,* 488-89.

[77] Nelson, "Williams Family Name," *loc. cit.*

than at first reported. On April 4 Colonel Williams wrote to John Armstrong, secretary of war:

> One half of the officers and about one sixth of the troops of the 39th engaged in the battle of Tohopeka on the 27th Ult. are among the killed and wounded. The officers remaining with the regiment fit for duty, are insufficient for ordinary camp duties. I endeavored before the opening of the present campaign to have the vacancies in my regiment filled, but without effect. The appointment of persons qualified for command has been prevented as it is understood by some electioneering members of Congress from Tennessee. The necessity for officers is so great that the publick service would be promoted even by the appointment of that description of persons who would best answer the purposes of *Gentlemen* at the next polls.[78]

The depletion of the 39th Regiment caused such grave concern that on April 21 Jackson suggested that recruiting for it should be superintended by some field officer and mentioned Colonel Williams for this assignment:

> The great popularity of Col Williams in our state would render him, I am sure the most fit person for this business. . . . I know the anxiety he feels to have his Regiment, and as the present reduction of it was principally occassioned by his faithfull services at Tohopeka.[79]

Previously, General Flournoy had sensed the value of Colonel Williams in enlisting men when, asking for his transfer or release, he had recommended the Tennessean as his logical successor to the command of the Seventh District: "Should it become necessary to draw men from Tennessee, Colo. Williams' personal influence would enable him to effect that object with facility."[80]

So, the Creek War ended, General Pinckney ordered the 39th, now under the command of Colonel Thomas H. Benton, to descend the Alabama and to report to General Flournoy at New Orleans, while Colonel Williams returned to Tennessee in the recruiting service. The Colonel feared that unless exertions were used in its behalf, this fighting group might lose its existence under the consolidation act. Still solicitous for the welfare of those men who had served him well, he asked that they be marched from the southwestern frontier before the "sickly" or the "fatal" season came to endanger their health.[81]

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[78] NA, RG 94.

[79] Jackson to Pinckney, On the March, Apr. 21, 1814, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 505.

[80] Flournoy to Secretary of War, Mar. 21, 1814, NA, RG 94.

[81] Williams to Flournoy, May 2, 1814, Jackson Papers, XX. For Jackson's treatment of Benton, who succeeded Williams in command of the 39th, see William N. Chambers, "Thwarted Warrior: The Last Years of Thomas Hart Benton in Tennessee, 1812-1815," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 22 (1950), 19-44.

Not content with handling important matters from a distance, Colonel Williams went to Washington to solicit funds for recruiting and also clothing and arms for equipping his regiment. These latter he asked to have sent by wagon from Harper's Ferry instead of by boat down the Ohio. A notation on the back of his letter of request states he was furnished with $20,000.[82]

During the following two months, results were far short of those anticipated. In July he said that unless more success attended the efforts of his recruiting officers, the 39th would not have a hundred men in it, and it might become a regiment of officers without men to command. By August conditions had not changed. He had been furnished by the

> General Government with about $50,000 for bounties & premiums and $5,000 for contingencies. I have also recd, 1,000 stands of arms; and 500 suits of Infantry clothing is now on the road from Baltimore to this place. Nothing is wanting but soldiers to make my command in your division of the army a respectable one.

He expressed the hope that the soldiers who re-enlisted might be allowed a furlough, for they would be helpful in interesting others. He planned a tour of certain counties of East Tennessee in the interests of recruiting and then a trip across the mountains for a few days to see his father who was seriously ill.[83]

That very equipment which he now held in custody for his regiment was destined to cause much bitterness. On September 26 General Nathaniel Taylor of the militia advised Colonel Williams that small arms and accoutrements were not available for the men under his command; General Jackson had ordered him to march without delay and to be equipped for service. To wait until weapons could be collected might prove fatal to the interests of the United States; to march without arms might prove equally injurious to its cause. To guard against either contingency he asked "the favor of you to deliver me five hundred stands of the arms which I am informed you have in your possession."[84]

But those weapons were the property of the War Department, issued to Williams in trust for the use of the regulars. The Colonel's decision was prompt and decisive: "It is not in my power to furnish the militia under your command with arms."[85]

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[82] Williams to Secretary of War, Washington, June 2, 1814, NA, RG 94.
[83] Williams to Jackson, Knoxville, July 15, Aug. 21, 1814, Jackson Papers, XXI, XXII.
[84] Copy, Jackson Papers, XXIV.
[85] Williams to Taylor, Sept. 26, 1814, copy, *ibid.*

Undaunted, General Taylor sent a second message on the same day, this one a demand:

> I regret, Sir, that you do not view the Subject in the same point of light with myself. As I cannot perform the duty assigned to me without possession of the arms in question, it subjects me to the necessity of making a peremptory demand of them for the Services of the United States.

General Taylor, however, had met a determined will:

> You have been already informed that it is not in my power to part from the arms in my possession. I am under the necessity of refusing positively a Compliance with your order. I deem it unnecessary at this time to investigate your authority to give me an order.[86]

All this was reported to General Jackson. John S. Bassett, the Jacksonian biographer, says this incident marked the beginning of the enmity between Williams and the man who had pled for his assistance at the battle of the Horse Shoe.[87] Certain it is that on October 17 Jackson addressed a severely critical letter to Colonel Williams:

> By express from Genl. Taylor, I have recd. a copy of a correspondence between him and yourself, relative to the arms required of you. For what purpose this communication is forwarded I cannot say; no charges or specifications have accompanied it. It may be intended by the Genl. as a foundation of your arrest.
>
> I regret that you did not furnish him all the arms that could be spared from the Deposit in your hands. The moment he was ordered into the service of the United States, he had a right to command any officer of lower grade. And the want of arms and the urgency of the occasion, would no doubt justify the order; there being no possibility of arming his men, after leaving Knoxville until they passed through the country of the enemy. The Slow progress making in recruiting in Tennessee from late reports is an evidence that at most one half of these arms would have been fully adequate for the recruits of your regiment, until a supply could have been ordered on, and reached you . . . .
>
> I have deemed it necessary to make this communication to you as well to prepare you for an event which must happen, if insisted on by Genl. Taylor, as to guard you against the repetition of an act which might prove so injurious to the safety of the country. This is not a time to investigate nice military questions of rank. It is the duty of all officers even to recede a little from their own rights where a public benefit would ensue.[88]

In the meantime, before the receipt of this communication, Colonel Williams had ordered Colonel Benton to reorganize the companies of the 39th Infantry, to select officers to command them, and to send the

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[86] Taylor to Williams, Sept. 26, 1814; Williams to Taylor, Sept. 26, 1814, copies, *ibid.*

[87] Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* II, 88n.

[88] Jackson to Williams, Mobile, Oct. 17, 1814, Jackson Letter Book, H, 96-97.

supernumerary officers to Tennessee on recruiting service. This plan was to be continued until all the soldiers enlisted for one year were discharged. A report of this order was forwarded to Jackson, together with the information that on the following Tuesday one company of the regiment would march from Knoxville to join his forces. Recruiting still was slow, but as soon as 400 or 500 men had been secured, Colonel Williams planned to leave that work to other officers and rejoin the army himself.[89]

Then arrived the General's letter of censure and rebuke. Secure in the conviction that he had acted according to military regulations, Williams immediately wrote a long and complete defense of his refusal to surrender the supplies. He expressed regret and astonishment at the reprimand. General Taylor had no authority to demand the arms, he maintained. The old question of rank had arisen again, and he assumed that Taylor had no more right as a militia general to take the arms than the clothing of the regulars:

> In either case, I should have been accountable to the Government, and bound to have paid the amount, out of my private funds . . . . I am assured that Genl. Taylors correspondence with me, was not commenced, with an expectation of promoting the public service. . . . And it would afford me infinite satisfaction to deliver over all the public stores in my possession to promote the service, if I had a legal order to that effect. But I never will envolve myself in ruin by squandering the public stores confided to my care. And I will resist every attempt to make me responsible for others faults. I am always ready and willing to have every act, both of my civil, and military life, envestigated. In the exercise of your discretion you seem to think these are sufficient grounds for my arrest. I shall therefore hold myself in readiness to recieve your order of arrest, And to repair without delay to such place as may be appointed for my trial.[90]

No arrest took place. On the same day Colonel Williams addressed an inquiry to the Secretary of War, asking whether a brigadier-general of militia could command him when they were not acting together in the same service. He explained that an officer of that rank had demanded his arms and that he would not comply unless instructed to do so.[91]

Easy it is to understand that never again could these two be other than enemies. Williams' honesty and loyalty had been questioned; on

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[89] Williams to Benton, Knoxville, Oct. 22, 1814; Williams to Jackson, Oct. 23, 1814, Jackson Papers, XXIV.

[90] Williams to Jackson, Knoxville, Nov. 1, 1814, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, II, 88-89.

[91] NA, RG 94.

the other hand, the authority of the General had been challenged—Williams' letter of defense could scarcely have been construed otherwise. Though the full intensity of their enmity was not to flame until several years later, it rankled and smoldered from this time forward. That they were on amicable terms after their collaboration at Horse Shoe Bend is indicated by a long and friendly letter of Jackson's in May, 1814, concerning the provisions which he thought should be included in a treaty with the Creeks and the arguments used with the Cherokees and the Chickasaws to secure a cession of all their claims north and east of the Tennessee River. "I will be happy to hear from you when you reach the city," he concluded, "with a tender of my respects to your lady and best wishes to yourself."[92] But much water can flow under a bridge in six months, and friendliness can turn to enmity in even less time.

The active military career of Colonel Williams was drawing to a close, however, and on June 15, 1815, he was honorably discharged.[93] In July he wrote to the Secretary of War and enclosed orders from the Adjutant General's Office, Headquarters Division of the South, showing that his troops of the 39th Regiment had been ordered and would march in a few days to Fort Deposit, on the Tennessee. He reported a quantity of goods, clothes, arms, etc.: "General Jackson declines giving any order relative to military stores. . . . As soon as the troops march from this place I shall consider myself out of service."[94] Meanwhile, Colonel Williams' undiminished popularity in East Tennessee led the Hawkins County grand jury to propose him as the next governor of Tennessee.[95]

Although his military career had ended, other spheres of activity were awaiting him. On October 10, 1815, he was elected to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the resignation of George W. Campbell. On December 4 he was sworn in and took his seat. Subsequently, he was elected for the full term of six years, beginning March 4, 1817,[96] which meant that for seven years and five months, until March 3, 1823, he served as a senator from Tennessee.

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[92] Jackson to Williams, Nashville, May 26, 1814, Monroe Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress), Writings to Monroe, XIV, No. 1763.

[93] Heitman, *Historical Register,* 1041.

[94] July 12, 1815, NA, RG 94.

[95] *Nashville Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* Nov. 1, 1814.

[96] *Biographical Directory,* 114; *Nashville Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* Oct. 14, 1817.

There his ability was quickly recognized. Almost immediately he was placed on the Committee on the President's Message, and soon thereafter on the Committee for Military Affairs, of which he was chairman during most of his term in the Senate. In this capacity, he and the Committee were confronted by a resolution from the Senate which directed them to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for the attendance of witnesses at court martial trials, a measure favored by the Secretary of War. Other problems considered were the reorganization of the medical staff of the army and a more effective organization of the Military Academy.[97] John Quincy Adams thought that the reduction of the army was the most important reform effected during this period. This reduction, together with all other important changes of organization, was based upon plans furnished by Generals Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott, but it was carried through Congress chiefly by the agency of John Williams of Tennessee.[98]

While in the Senate, he opposed the appointment by the federal government of a committee to fix the boundary line between Kentucky and Tennessee, believing that these states should settle this dispute for themselves, which proved to be the procedure followed. On April 3, 1816, he voted for the United States Bank Bill and during the same year in favor of a protective tariff. In 1820 he cast his vote for the Missouri Compromise.[99]

He never forgot nor neglected, however, those projects and developments of immediate moment to the people of his own state. Before his election to Congress, he had been actively interested in the Byers-Russell Turnpike Company and its construction of a road to Georgia by way of Unaka Mountain. Late in 1815 he reported that this road was nearly completed and lacked only the authorization of the federal government to be put into operation.[100]

In 1816 he and Governor Joseph McMinn served as commissioners for Tennessee, with Colonel Return J. Meigs acting on behalf of the United States, in negotiations with the Cherokees for purchase of the Indian claims on the north side of the Tennessee and west of a line

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[97] Nelson, "Williams Family Name," *loc. cit.;* Secretary of War (J. C. Calhoun) to Williams, Chairman of Military Affairs Committee, Feb. 8, 1817, Jan. 16, Feb. 3, 1818, Jan. 19, 1819 (Military Book, 1818-1820, p. 231), NA, RG 94.

[98] Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1874-77), VII, 446-47.

[99] *Knoxville Register,* 1815-1823, *passim.*

[100] Williams to Secretary of War, Washington, Dec. 27, 1815, NA, RG 94.

from the eastern boundary of Madison County (of Mississippi Territory) to the Tennessee Islands on the Coosa. On July 20 they assembled with the chiefs at the agency, where talks continued until August 2, when they were precipitately broken off. Various reasons were assigned by the commissioners. Williams blamed the influence of certain white men who had identified themselves with the Indians and had written to the War Department concerning the motives of the commissioners. He asked that copies of these communications be sent to Governor McMinn.[101] Meigs said the Indians refused the price offered; it was not in his power to increase it, "and Governor McMinn and Colonel Williams would not take on themselves the responsibility of offering more." Governor McMinn reported to the Secretary of War that "your instructions were read and explained, and the sum total ordered to be given was distinctly proposed by Colonel Williams in the precise manner contained in your directions before referred to."[102]

When early in 1819 a treaty which supplemented one negotiated by Jackson and McMinn in 1817 finally was signed, the Indians ceded all claims to territory north of the Tennessee and to a valuable tract between the Little Tennessee and the Hiwassee within the state of Tennessee as well as to claims in North Carolina and a considerable tract in Georgia. After this transaction, as Colonel Williams saw the situation, the land between the Little Tennessee and the Hiwassee now unquestionably belonged to the state of Tennessee, as originally intended by the Compact of 1806. It might well take the place of the patrimony—lands or other natural assets—which many other states had received at their formation. Tennessee possessed no such legacy; as a result internal improvements had been neglected. Now by the acquisition of this territory, the federal government offered the state the means for creating funds for such purposes. According to his plan, this area would be surveyed into sections, half-sections, and quarter-sections, designated as first, second, third, or fourth-rate land and

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[101] *Knoxville Register,* Aug. 10, 1816; Williams to Secretary of War Crawford, Knoxville, Aug. 13, 1816, NA, RG 94.

[102] Meigs to Crawford, Cherokee Agency, Aug. 19, 1816, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* 2 vols. (Washington, 1832-1834), II, 113-14; McMinn to Crawford, Knoxville, Oct. 25, 1816, *ibid.*, 115. Meanwhile, Jackson, David Merriwether, and Jesse Franklin had obtained a Cherokee cession of some land south of the Tennessee, and the next year Jackson, McMinn, and Merriwether obtained additional cessions which included the Sequatchie Valley in Tennessee. W. R. Garrett and A. V. Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1905), 135.

would be so noted on a map showing water courses and mill seats, also. The legislature then would fix a minimum price for each tract and offer it for sale. Such procedure would prevent individuals from purchasing land worth $20 per acre for $2.00. If sold under proper regulations, this land would net the state at least $2,000,000, which properly invested in bank stock at the usual rate would yield $160,000 annually. Appropriated to the improvement of the leading roads and the cleaning out of the river courses, such income would be of immense consequence to all the people of the state. Should the opportunity be neglected, then Tennessee must rely on direct taxation not only for the expenses of the state government but for improvements as well. Many other states, by the prudent handling of resources had provided themselves with turnpikes, had improved the navigation of rivers, and had given education to their poor children. Tennessee, he said, should imitate them. From the time of his entering politics, he had kept this plan in mind. Now its realization seemed possible.[103]

Then began the series of events which at their conclusion were destined to remove Colonel Williams from the scene of national politics—the controversy with Spain over the southeastern boundary, the repercussions of Jackson's campaign against the Seminoles, with his precipitate invasion of Spanish territory and seizing of Pensacola. The entire proceedings have been the subject of many investigations, much criticism, and many alibis. Suffice it to say here that Colonel Williams was among those who did not approve, and to criticize Old Hickory was not the way to hold his friendship.

In 1819 Jackson accused Colonel Williams of spreading false information damaging to his reputation on two matters: the report, which apparently was quite widespread,[104] that Jackson had invested in real estate in Pensacola and then, as he put it, "in order to enhance the vallue of my property . . . had marched my army there and seized the place"; and the story that Jackson had "made the reservation of the salt lick in the chickasaw treaty for myself, and that the ink had not dried on the treaty before I had obtained a lease for it."[105]

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[103] Williams to Editors, Washington, Mar. 3, 1819, *Knoxville Register,* June 24, 1825 (republished).

[104] Adams (ed.), *Memoirs,* IV, 90ff.

[105] Jackson to William Williams, Hermitage, Sept. 25, 1819, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* II, 430-31.

That Jackson attempted to build up some parallel between his campaign and that led by Colonel Williams in 1812, or that he was trying to secure evidence damaging to Williams is apparent from letters written at this time to members of the former Mounted Volunteers. He sought replies to such questions as: Were you an officer? Who appointed the officers? Was the group truly voluntary? Did you have any engagements with the Indians and the Negroes? Were the company and its actions approved by the general government? Were the men paid for their services?[106]

Colonel John Brown attempted to effect a reconciliation between the two, his proposal being that they meet in a friendly manner, letting their quarrel drop without explanations by either. Jackson's reply was a flat no, unless

> Colo. Williams will say to me Senatorial priviledges aside, we will soon put an end to our dispute[.] I will place before him the injuries he has attempted to heap upon me, and the attonement necessary to [be] made, provided he admits the facts, or substantiating them. Should he refuse to do this I may yet a little be compelled to bear with the injury untill I can with honor retire to private life and lay down my commission. Then having all the rights of a citizen, I Can protect my reputation without the *cry* of *military usurpation.*[107]

Dr. J. G. Bronaugh, then in Washington, attempted, at Jackson's request, to secure information for the General. "In gratitude," Jackson wrote,

> I sincerely thank you for the Trouble you have taken to discover the declarations, and slander of that subtle fiend Colo. Williams . . . when he would attempt to insinuate any thing relative to my private and moral charector or any particular act of mine as a military man I will punish him. he has I know, in dark innuendoes and secrete and confidential information endeavored to injure me in congress.

The reason he had asked Dr. Bronaugh to secure this information was to obtain proof, "believing from what I know of him that he would deny anything to shield himself from punishment or danger."[108]

A far cry from the days preceding Horse Shoe Bend! The sources of Dr. Bronaugh's information remain anonymous. According to John Quincy Adams, who was in a position to know the sentiments of official Washington, Jackson's bitterest critics were John C. Calhoun,

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[106] P. M. Miller to Jackson, Sept. 22, 1819, *American State Papers, Military Affairs,* 7 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), I, 769.

[107] Jackson to Col. John Brown, Oct. 8, 1819, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* II, 437-38.

[108] Jackson to Bronaugh, Hermitage, Feb. 12, 1820, *ibid.,* III, 13.

William H. Crawford, William Wirt, and John Forsyth, not John Williams:

> Crawford has been a worm preying upon the vitals of the administration within its own body. He was the instigator and animating spirit of the whole movement, both in Congress and at Richmond, against Jackson and the Administration. In all the vicissitudes of the Spanish negotiation, wherever there has been difficulty or prospect of failure he has been felt when he could not be seen. . . .[109]

That Colonel Williams was an active partisan of William Crawford, there can be no question, but that he stooped to slanderous falsehood rests only upon the suspicions of Andrew Jackson.

Williams carried his opposition to the Spanish negotiations to its logical conclusion and was one of four senators to vote against the ratification of the treaty with Spain in 1820-1821, as John Quincy Adams said, "from party impulses, connected with hatred of General Jackson. . . ."[110]

When in 1823 John McNairy sought to act as mediator in the feud, Jackson listed his reasons for his enmity toward Colonel Williams. They had parted friends at Fort Jackson, he said, and had not met since. He obtained an order from General Pinckney for Williams to return to Knoxville to superintend recruiting for the 39th Regiment. In 1814, upon reaching Mobile, he was informed through the *Knoxville Gazette* that he was to be arrested upon charges "emanating as private advice detailed from Col. Williams and the officers of his Regt." In 1815, at New Orleans, a friend had advised him that charges had been sent or signed by all the officers of the 39th. Upon returning to Nashville, he met Hugh L. White, who assured him that Williams could not be guilty of the acts with which Jackson charged him. Jackson replied that he would be pleased to have an interview with Williams in Knoxville as he passed through that city on the way to Washington. He had remained there for two or three days and was informed that Williams came there after his arrival but left immediately "for a part of the country he was not in the habit of visiting." Jackson was confined by sickness, but Williams had not called to see him.

These explanations are followed by three later charges: Williams' expressions on the Seminole question; his false assertions to members of Congress "that I had no standing in my own state"; the charges of

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[109] Adams (ed.), *Memoirs*, V, 315.

[110] Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, 2 vols. (New York, 1854-1856), I, 17; Adams (ed.), *Memoirs*, V, 285-86.

speculation in Florida land and the salt works "have convinced me that he is amongst the most unprincipled men I ever knew." So, the General concluded, there could be no reconciliation until Williams made personal advance for it,[111] on terms, one may presume, stated earlier to Colonel Brown. No reference is made to Williams' refusal to relinquish the military stores to General Taylor nor to the rebuff administered to Jackson at that time.

Throughout this bitter controversy, however, Senator Williams continued to remember the folks back home and to keep their welfare constantly in mind. In 1819 the trustees of the Baptist society notified the public that he had generously given a parcel of land as the site for a meeting house. When, by mistake, settlers were ordered off the public land near Highwassee (Hiwassee), he immediately laid the matter before the Secretary of War.[112] Then, early in 1823, he introduced into the Senate a resolution authorizing Tennessee to sell her vacant lands north and east of the reservation line for such price as the legislature might deem expedient. A bill with such provisions passed the Senate on February 5, 1823. By the Compact of 1806, which had remained in force, the state was prohibited from selling land at less than the minimum price set for that sold by the United States government. By this revision, however, many small pieces which otherwise would have remained vacant might be disposed of for 50, 25, or even 12½ cents per acre, the amount which eventually became the sales price. Such sales would add to the revenues of the state.[113] One editor estimated that this law would produce no less than $210,000 from the Hiwassee district alone.[114]

Thus, one of his last official acts in Congress was to sponsor a bill which consummated a plan held in mind from the date of the ratification of the Indian treaty in 1819. Also, during that last year of service, a bill was reported from the Senate Military Affairs Committee providing for the establishment of a national armory on the western waters, the location to be determined by a skilled engineer. Williams wrote to Governor William Carroll, expressing the hope that the citizens of

[111] Jackson to John McNairy, Sept. 6, 1823, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* III, 207-208.

[112] *Knoxville Register,* April 28, 1818; *Nashville Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* Feb. 1, 1820.

[113] *Nashville Constitutional Advocate,* Jan. 14, 1823; Williams to the Editors, Feb. 5, 1823, *Knoxville Register,* Feb. 21, 1823.

[114] *Ibid.,* Apr. 18, 1823.

Tennessee would call to the Executive's attention the suitable sites in their state: "Perhaps no state in the union contains more situations for water power than Tennessee—In East Tennessee they are to be found in every county." He named Bell's works on the Big Harpeth; Stone Fort on Duck River; the iron works near Sparta—all "are admirable situations for a national armory."[115] Here he was the prophet, foreseeing the value of national locations which were to be capitalized upon a hundred years later.

After the adjournment of the Seventeenth Congress, Colonel Williams returned to his home state to campaign for re-election with powerful forces aligned against him. He had supported William H. Crawford and opposed the ascendant star of the Hero of New Orleans. Already, in 1822, the Tennessee legislature had nominated Jackson for the presidency at a meeting Jackson failed to attend because he had been forewarned of the resolution, and he did not wish to be placed in the position of seeking the honor, "never having been a aplicant for any office I have filled. . . ."[116] In Nashville three not disinterested friends, John Henry Eaton, John Overton, and William B. Lewis, constituted themselves a triumvirate for the promotion of Jackson's political fortunes. They agreed that they dared not permit the re-election to the Senate of so powerful an enemy of their favorite as Colonel Williams was.

But who could defeat him? According to established precedent, one senator was elected from East Tennessee and one from the West.[117] Candidates discussed in addition to Colonel Williams were W. G. Blount and John Rhea. Some Jackson supporters believed that the former was the stronger and the candidate for them to endorse:

> *To be or not to be,* is the awfull struggle with the colo, and not *to be,* is what I'm for. Things seemed to have been, under the guidance of heaven, all going on smoothly, for the defeat of the *horse shoe* Colo. —until the ancient and late hon. Mr Rhea declined a reelection in his district. . . .[118]

With that turn of affairs, more maneuvering was necessary. Apparently, many of Jackson's supporters desired only a clear statement

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[115] Williams to Carroll, Washington, Feb. 1, 1823, *Knoxville Register,* Feb. 28, 1823.
[116] Jackson to Andrew J. Donelson, Aug. 6, 1822, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* III, 173.
[117] *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, 1811-1849), Oct. 25, 1823.
[118] Gen. Richard G. Dunlap to Jackson, Knoxville, July 2, 1823, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* III, 200.

from Williams that he would endorse the General for the presidency, but any such assurance he refused to give. Two friends wrote to Jackson: "In matters of election we well know from experience, that a luke warm supporter will do more mischief than an open enemy, and that you shall ever receive the hearty and open support of this *man* is what we cannot believe[.]"[119]

As election time approached, indications concerning its probable outcome were not too encouraging for the partisans of the man who "never sought an office." Less than a week before the meeting, P. M. Miller and John Rhea still were being discussed as candidates opposing Colonel Williams.[120] Neither of these, Jackson's proponents feared, could accomplish his defeat. In this emergency but one course remained —the General himself must enter the contest. In explaining the situation, Jackson wrote: "it was thought expedient by my friends that my name should be brought out. . . . every intrigue that could exist, and indeed corruption was resorted to. my name was brought forward 4 days before the election. . . ."[121]

On October 1, when the legislature met in the Representatives' Hall, the names of only two candidates were placed in nomination: "Hon. John Williams, and Gen. Andrew Jackson." An attempt was made by the senate to delay the election from Wednesday until Friday at two o'clock, but the house rejected the proposal. When the votes were tallied, Jackson had won by ten, the count being, Williams, 25 and Jackson, 35.[122] For the first time, the tradition of choosing the senators from the two divisions of the state had been disregarded. On no similar occasion in the history of Tennessee had more interest been excited. According to the editor of a Knoxville paper, "The friends of each contended with much solicitude for their favorite candidate, though all was conducted in harmony." One might well place a question mark after this concluding statement, for at this time certainly harmony could never exist where Jackson and Williams were concerned: "He is with all his *fury* decidedly the most cunning man I have ever encountered. I speak from *experience* as you all will before the contest is over

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[119] William Brady and T. Williamson to Jackson, Sept. 20, 1823, *ibid.*, 209-10.

[120] *Nashville Constitutional Advocate,* Sept. 27, 1823.

[121] *Knoxville Register,* Oct. 3, 1823. See also Jackson to Gen. John Coffee, Oct. 5, 1823, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* III, 210-11.

[122] *Knoxville Register,* Oct. 10, 1823; Extract from the House of Representatives of Tennessee Legislature, Oct. 1, 1823, *Nashville Constitutional Advocate,* Oct. 4, 1823.

in the H. of Repr.," Williams warned Martin Van Buren, then in Congress.[123]

One recent student of Tennessee politics during this period suggests that Pleasant M. Miller, who aspired to replace Williams in the Senate, was his original and scheming opponent. To further his ambitions, he aligned himself with the Overton-Blount faction, which sponsored the entire Jackson presidential boom for the personal aggrandisement of John Overton, John Eaton, and Major William B. Lewis. Jackson's nomination for the presidency by the Tennessee legislature in 1822, he says, was the work of Pleasant Miller, John Overton, and Felix Grundy, none of whom preferred Jackson or thought he had a chance to become a major contender.

By the time of the senatorial election in 1823, the supporters of Miller realized that he could count too many personal enemies to defeat Williams. Neither could Rhea muster the necessary votes. In this dilemma, Eaton and Lewis had Jackson's name placed before the legislature as the only hope of furthering their own ambitions. Overton and Grundy by this time, somewhat appalled by the upsurge of Jackson's presidential stock outside of Tennessee and dismayed at his emerging social philosophy, actually sought to kill his presidential candidacy by the re-election of Williams. However, the boom they had helped to generate now was beyond their control; unintentionally, they had aided Andrew Jackson on his way to the Senate and eventually to the White House.[124]

Though defeated for the Senate, Colonel Williams' political activities were not concluded. In 1825 he became a candidate from Knox County for the state senate, for which position he was defeated by James Anderson, 982 to 931.[125] Then, in November, came recognition for his services and ability in his appointment by President John Quincy Adams as chargé d'affaires to the Federation of Central America, with headquarters in Guatemala. According to his instructions,

> Our relations with the Republic have been at once friendly and flattering to the United States. One of its Provinces, you are aware, offered to unite itself to this Confederacy. We wish to give extension and strength to these relations, and great reliance would be placed on your

[123] *Knoxville Register,* Oct. 10, 1823; Williams to Van Buren, Nov. 25, 1824, Van Buren Papers, IV.

[124] Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., "Jackson Men with Feet of Clay," *American Historical Review* (New York), LXII (Apr., 1957), 537-51.

[125] *Knoxville Register,* Apr. 15, Aug. 5, 1825.

> zeal, discretion and patriotism, in accomplishing that object, if you should see fit to accept the appointment. . . . Happy to be the organ of communicating this distinguished proof of the President's confidence to you.[126]

Replying, Colonel Williams accepted the mission and promised to start for Washington early in December. Following his arrival, he was commissioned on December 29, 1825, and served until December 1, 1826.[127] Before this assignment he again was being mentioned in the Winchester and Sparta newspapers as a probable candidate for governor: "Whether he will become a candidate on his return or not, we are not authorized to say,"[128] was one editor's conclusion.

On February 10, 1826, the Chargé was instructed to proceed from Norfolk on the U. S. corvette *John Adams*. Upon arrival at his post, he was first to obtain an exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation, which had been concluded on December 5, 1825. Also, the idea of a canal across Nicaragua had been presented by Antonio José Canaz, envoy extraordinary from the United Provinces of the Centre of America, who had negotiated the treaty. The Chargé was instructed to ascertain if accurate surveys had been made and to determine the existing facilities for such a waterway. In addition to these responsibilities, he was to obtain all possible information concerning Guatemala, its physical conditions, boundaries, government, relations with other powers, and trade advantages.[129]

Remuneration was fixed at $4,500, an outfit equal to a year's salary, and a quarter salary for his return. On March 10 the envoy drew upon the Secretary of State for $1,125, in full for his second quarter's salary. Traveling by way of Havana, Cuba, which he had reached by April 10, he arrived at his post of duty on May 2, where he was introduced to Mr. Sosa, secretary of foreign affairs, who presented him to President Manuel José Arce. His first official business concerned the ratification of the December treaty. Because of the requirement by the constitution that both houses of Congress approve such ratifications, many circumstances brought delays, so that the final exchange was not effected until August 2.[130]

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[126] Henry Clay, Secretary of State, to Williams, Nov. 10, 1825, Records of the Department of State, NA, RG 59.

[127] Williams to Henry Clay, Nov. 25, 1825, *ibid.; Biographical Directory,* 2019.

[128] *Nashville Whig,* Dec. 26, 1825.

[129] Clay to Williams, Feb. 10, 1826, NA, RG 59.

[130] Clay to Williams, Feb. 11, 1826; Williams to Clay, Mar. 10, Apr. 10 (Havana), Aug. 3 (Guatemala), 1826, *ibid.*

Before that date the Chargé already was thinking nostalgically of home and family. Writing to Secretary of State Henry Clay, he requested that an order be isssued for a ship of the West Indian squadron to take him on board at Amoa (Omoa) during the coming winter.[131]

In the meantime, during the remainder of his sojourn in Guatemala he busied himself with other phases of his instructions. He reported that a movement had been initiated for settling the disputed boundary with Mexico; that the objectionable tariff passed earlier in the year had been suspended, and in all probability would be revised when Congress met again;[132] that he had made suggestions for the reform of the civil code, including the introduction of the writ of *habeas corpus,* trial by jury, and Livingston's Louisiana Code. The failure of the British loan might lead the Guatemalans to banking, he thought, and he suggested that they adopt a national system rather than allow the creation of individual or local banks. Whenever feasible, he took excursions throughout the country to learn about its problems and assets first hand. Also, the possibilities of the canal were not neglected. Even a minor uprising, which allowed President Arce to consolidate his power and for the time being to become virtually a dictator, did not prevent the Chargé from taking a six-day trip through the country for a last survey of its resources.[133]

Colonel Williams arrived at Pensacola on or about January 6, 1827, and reached his home near Knoxville in February. Upon his return the citizens of that city, "wishing to testify their estimation of his public services on his last mission, their respect for him as a private citizen and to congratulate him on a safe return home," invited him to "partake of dinner" at the home of Captain Boyd. The company sat down to an "elegant and sumptuous dinner at about 3 o'clock," after which many toasts were drunk.[134]

According to family tradition, during his absence his wife, with the help of the Negroes, burned bricks and built a house on the Dandridge Pike, about two miles from Knoxville. She had not written of

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[131] Aug. 4, 1826, *ibid.*

[132] Williams to Clay and to Poinsett, Aug. 4, 1826, *ibid.*

[133] Williams to Clay, Aug. 23, Nov. 24, 1826, *ibid;* Adams (ed.), *Memoirs,* VII, 144-45.

[134] Williams to Clay, Jan. 6, 1827, NA, RG 59; *Knoxville Register,* Feb. 7, 14, 1827.

the change, and when he arrived, he failed to recognize his own home. There was considerable amusement at his expense, it seems, when all was explained.[135]

Having resigned his position in national affairs, he plunged almost immediately into state politics. In April he announced his candidacy for senator from Knox and Anderson counties,[136] thus precipitating one of the bitterest political campaigns in the history of the state. From the date of his announced candidacy until the election in August, vitriolic attacks against him were constant. The *Knoxville Register* violently opposed him. He was criticized because, it was said, he would not promote Jackson's candidacy for the presidency—he was an Adams and Clay man, favorable to a national bank. The newspaper diatribes, anonymous for the most part, were unrestrained and exceedingly bitter.[137]

Even Hugh Lawson White, Williams' brother-in-law, entered the fight in favor of his opponent, James Anderson, who had defeated him in 1825. One reason, at least, for White's attitude was the Colonel's advocacy of a national bank. White complained to Jackson: "Col: Williams is pouring out all his wrath upon me, in public and private speaches. For these things I care not. He is a mean politician who can get no man to lye upon him."[138]

When the votes were counted, the defeat of 1825 had been avenged, for the final tally showed Williams the victor by 1585 to Anderson's 1216.[139] The *National Intelligencer* advised:

> We have the pleasure to state that Col. John Williams, our late minister to Guatemala, has been elected to the State Senate by a handsome majority, after a violent contest. We mention this fact with satisfaction, because a person at a distance from the scene can hardly imagine the violence and bitterness with which a prominent citizen is persecuted in that State who dares to oppose the predominant feeling there on the subject of Presidential candidates; and it has been Col. Williams' fortune to be opposed to the popular current in Tennessee, having been, at the last election, in favor of Mr. Crawford, and always decidedly adverse to the election of General Jackson to the Presidency.[140]

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[135] Nelson, "Williams Family Name," *loc. cit.* This building is now a part of the State School for the Deaf, Negro Division.

[136] *Knoxville Register,* Apr. 11, 1827.

[137] *Ibid.,* Apr. 11, to Aug. 2, 1827, *passim.*

[138] White to Jackson, June 19, 1827, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* III, 365.

[139] *Knoxville Register,* Aug. 9, 1827.

[140] Reprinted in *ibid.,* Sept. 5, 1827.

While in the state senate Williams again aroused the anger of the Jacksonians by opposing a resolution introduced by Aaron V. Brown which advocated an amendment to the United States Constitution giving the election of the President directly to the people. Such an amendment, Brown contended, would prevent the consummation of any more corrupt bargains such as the one he claimed had been concluded between John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay by which Andrew Jackson had been denied his rightful election to the presidency in 1825. In his reply Williams insisted that there was no proof that any corrupt arrangement had existed between Adams and Clay. When the resolution came to a vote, Williams cast one of the two votes which were recorded against it in the senate.

Colonel Williams quickly impressed his fellow legislators in other ways. He was appointed a representative from the senate on a joint committee to draft rules for the transaction of business and for the regulation of intercourse between the two branches of the legislature. Later, he was appointed to the Committee of Enrolled Bills and added to the Committee on Internal Improvements.[141]

During the session he introduced a number of bills: to amend an act concerning old titles to land and the limitations of actions arising therefrom; to provide for the relief of female debtors; upon the petition of citizens of Anderson County, to construct a turnpike from Martin's in Walnut Cove to the Kentucky line; also, upon the petition of citizens of Knox County, to restore the rights and privileges of citizenship to John Shirk, convicted of petit larceny.[142]

Remaining firm to principles expressed earlier, he introduced resolutions: to require entry takers to report on oath to the legislature the amount of money received and by whom paid; to require the president and directors of the Bank of Tennessee to report to the legislature the amount of money received from each entry taker, the amount loaned annually in each county, from the establishment of the bank to the present, designating how the loans were secured and all changes in securities as well as the institution's expenses from its establishment; to ask a report from the president and directors of the old Bank of Tennessee to this General Assembly concerning liens on real estate

[141] *Knoxville Register,* Nov., 1827, *passim;* Tennessee *Senate Journal,* 1827, pp. 6, 39, 76.

[142] *Ibid.,* 27, 28, 36, 60, 72.

substituted for personal securities, with the names of endorsers released and an estimate of probable losses likely to result from such substitutions; to request the Committee on Internal Improvements to consider the expediency of employing a skilled engineer; to investigate a possible reduction in the compensations allowed to the printers of laws and journals of the state; to inquire into the expediency of appropriating part of the interest accruing from funds in the new state bank toward defraying the costs of state government; to investigate the advisability of providing by law for the punishment of sheriffs who failed to make proper returns of the election for governor, as directed by the constitution; to transfer to the United States Supreme Court several reserved cases under the treaties with the Cherokees.[143]

Approximately nine years of activity remained to Colonel Williams after the adjournment of the Tennessee senate, but never again did he offer his services for any office. He had been provoked into being a candidate for the legislature in 1827, he said, "by persons who ought to have been my friends. On ascertaining that I would have no opposition at the next election, I withdrew."[144]

Not that opportunities for political preferment were lacking. President John Quincy Adams reveals in his memoirs that he preferred Colonel Williams for the office of secretary of war.[145] He was offered appointment as a justice of the state supreme court but declined it.[146] In 1831, after Jackson had become President, he wrote: "Within the last twelve months I have been strongly urged to represent this district in Congress which I could do almost without a struggle. But I have determined not to go to Washington to be put under the *bow of the Emperor.*" [147]

His quarrel with Jackson and his opposition to the people's hero continued. Jackson apparently saw or thought he saw Colonel Williams' influence in every criticism leveled at him during his campaign in 1828, whether it concerned the Dickinson duel, the Burr conspiracy, or Pensacola: "I am branded with every crime, and Doctor McNary, Col. Erwin, Anderson and Williams are associated for this purpose."[148]

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[143] *Ibid.*, 22, 23, 28, 46, 63, 70, 100, 101.
[144] Williams to Van Buren, Mar. 22, 1831, Van Buren Papers, XIII.
[145] Adams (ed.), *Memoirs,* VII, 547, VIII, 4.
[146] *Biographical Directory,* 2019.
[147] Williams to Van Buren, Mar. 22, 1831, Van Buren Papers, XIII.
[148] Jackson to John Coffee, June 20, 1828, Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* III, 409. See also Jackson to Maj. William Lewis, Aug. 13, 1828; Jackson to Brig.-Gen. Richard K.

That Williams' evaluation of the General remained unchanged, even after his election to the presidency, is suggested by his willingness to oppose his re-election and advocating "putting in any other of a little better capacity and who has not descended from Tory stock."[149] His opinion of Jackson, as repeated by John Floyd, a former Jackson supporter, was that "he [Jackson] never determined on the ruin of any man that he did not succeed." In a similar vein Williams wrote, "I was hurt at the removal of Major Callaway late Marshall of E. Tennessee because he was my personal friend. I had withdrawn from public life & it was cruel to punish a man because he had a good opinion of me."[150]

While retaining an interest in public affairs in the years between 1829 and 1837, Colonel Williams devoted himself mainly to the practice of law in Knox and nearby counties. He remained the supporter of every enterprise for the public welfare and as such was a promoter of the projected Louisville, Cincinnati & Charleston Railroad Company, being a member of its first board of directors, which position he held during the remainder of his life.[151] His interest in political happenings did not end. It merely ceased to express itself in officeholding. In 1833 he reiterated his conviction that he could have been elected to Congress at any election for years past. "But I have declined all public employment. I still however feel a deep interest in the *Welfare* of my country without the means of rendering any service."[152]

When the nullification controversy clouded the national sky, he confessed that

> For the last four years I have lost confidence in the perpetuity of our political institutions. I have read in history of the downfall of ancient Republics the ruin of our own. I sounded the [tocsin?] of alarm without effect. Many of my best friends would not hearken. They ascribed my opposition to every motive but the true one. I have suffered proscription and persecution little short of the Spanish Inquisition without exciting even the sympathy of my old friends. Thus opposed and abandoned I determined for the remainder of my life to devote myself to my personal concerns.

Call, Aug. 16, 1828, *ibid.*, III, 422, 426. The "associates" were Dr. Boyd McNairy, the president of the Nashville bank, Col. Andrew Erwin, and Col. William P. Anderson.

[149] Williams to Van Buren, Mar. 22, 1831, Van Buren Papers, XIII.

[150] John Floyd to Williams, Dec. 27, 1830, John Floyd Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress); Williams to Van Buren, Mar. 22, 1831, Van Buren Papers, XIII.

[151] Rothrock (ed.), *French Broad-Holston Country*, 505-506. *Cf.* Goodspeed Publishing Co., *History of Tennessee—Knox County* (Nashville, 1887), 820.

[152] Williams to John Floyd, Knoxville, Jan. 5, 1833, John Floyd Papers.

He saw clearly the logical outcome of this confused state of national politics:

> My heart sickens at the almost certain prospect of having our once happy land deluged with our kindred blood. My skirts are clear of censure & I thank God for it. I voted for the tariff of 1816 with the double view of raising revenue & protection. I then & still believe it was constitutional. No one doubted at that time (that I remember) except Mr. Randolph. On most subjects he was considered under a hallucination. The seeds, however, sown by him at that time have taken deep root & now threaten to dissolve the Union. . . . The conduct of So. Carolina cannot be justified on any principle consistant with the theory of our Govt. The suppression of insubordination in that quarter will add to the power of Jackson already too great & is therefore to be deplored.

Then, his comments turned to that other problem which to him was a national disgrace—the treatment of the Indians:

> For myself I will say that I will not shed the blood of So. Carolina for nullification & sustain a more odious nullification in Georgia. The former are under a delusion & and have my sympathy whilst the latter are animated by sordid avarice & a wish to oppress the helpless & unprotected Indians. The conduct of Georgia is sufficient to excite the wrath of Heaven on our Country—If our land should be visited with War, Pestilence & Famine it will be nothing more than a just dispensation of Providence for our national crimes.[153]

This interest in Indian affairs remained prominent in his mind, for in April, 1837, he reported to President Van Buren that he had spent the greater part of the past winter at New Echota, attending to professional business before the commission "under the late treaty with the Cherokees." The John Ridge faction of the Indians, with whom the treaty of removal had been made, did not constitute, he estimated, one-twentieth of the Cherokees, and John Ross, who "possesses a more absolute control over the common Indians than the Pope does over his Papal dominions," had been telling them that the treaty was not valid. Consequently, they were making preparations to remain and might have to be removed by force, which would lead to an Indian war. Williams suggested that another treaty be made and that an additional sum be paid to the Cherokees, the money to be invested half in the Georgia railroad and half in the Charleston. Such procedure, he believed, would pacify them, and they would then go west in good humor.[154]

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[153] *Ibid.*

[154] Williams to Van Buren, Apr. 2, 1837, Van Buren Papers, XXVI. He probably meant the Hiwassee Railroad, projected from Knoxville to the Georgia line (later the East Tennessee and Georgia R. R.), and the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston R. R.

Then, in the midst of activity and plans came serious illness—bilious fever.[155] Almost three years earlier, on December 8, 1834, he had written his last will and testament:

> Entertaining great confidence in the prudence and discretion of my wife, Malinda Williams I hereby give & bequeath unto her and her heirs and assigns forever all my estate both real and personal. I hereby constitute and appoint my said wife sole Executrix of this my Last will and Testament.

Some estimate of that estate may be calculated from an order of the court in 1835, allowing him to report and to "pay a single tax thereon: 531 acres 1 free pole of land; 17 slaves and 1 carriage."[156]

Now, realizing apparently that he did not have long to live, he added a codicil, simplifying the procedure for that prudent wife: "It is my will and desire that my said Executrix be not required to give any security for the administration of my said estate. Witness my hand and seal this the 8th day of August 1837." But the unsteady hand could no longer form a signature and was forced to be content with the "X—his mark," instead. Two days later, on August 10, at his home near Knoxville, death ended the career of Colonel John Williams, aged 59. Associates characterized him as possessed of graceful, courtly, dignified manners. His complacent and benevolent countenance, however, made him accessible to his humblest acquaintances. These qualities endeared him to all classes of people.[157]

At the December, 1837, session of the Knox County court, his will was duly attested by John L. and Alexander Williams, and Malinda Williams qualified as sole executrix.[158] In a few months, however, on March 2, 1838, she followed her husband to the First Presbyterian churchyard, the settlement of the estate still incomplete.

The influence of Colonel John and Malinda Williams did not end in either 1837 or 1838. Of their ten children, six lived to maturity.[159] One of their sons, Joseph Lanier, served in the House of Representatives from March 4, 1837, to March 3, 1843. Later he was appointed by President Lincoln as judge of the United States District Court of the Dakota Territory.[160] Another son, John, was elected to the Tennessee

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[155] *Nashville Banner and Nashville Whig,* Aug. 16, 1837.

[156] Knox County Estate Book No. 6 (Knox County Courthouse, Knoxville), 162; Minutes of the County Court of Knox County, Book No. 16 (Knox County Courthouse, Knoxville), 42.

[157] Goodspeed, *History of Tennessee,* 819.

[158] Minutes of the County Court of Knox County, Book No. 16, pp. 240-41.

[159] Rothrock (ed.), *French Broad-Holston Country,* 506.

[160] *Biographical Directory,* 2020.

legislature in 1845, 1847, and 1857. He was a stalwart champion of the Union cause in the War Between the States and was one of the prime movers in the calling of the Union conventions in Knoxville and Greenville in 1861.

The feat which Colonel John would have applauded most heartily, perhaps, remained for his great-grandson. One daughter,[161] Margaret McClung, married Chief Justice Richmond Pearson, of North Carolina. Their daughter Sallie named her son for his grandfather—Richmond Pearson Hobson. Certainly, the young naval lieutenant who on June 3, 1898, rode the collier *Merrimac* into the bottleneck of the harbor at Santiago de Cuba, there to blow her up amid the fire of Spanish ships and the exploding of torpedoes, was a kindred spirit of the Colonel who organized and led a troop of mounted volunteers hundreds of miles against an enemy known only by report. Both, perhaps, were animated by the same dauntless daring of the forebear who rode horseback across miles of enemy-infested country, a sick baby in her lap and a boy of two and one-half years behind her.

The years have not been kind to Colonel John Williams. Perpetuation of his memory has been allowed to rest too much upon the weathered slab, which few ever see, in the First Presbyterian churchyard at Knoxville. It was his fate to oppose a popular hero; so, he has shared the neglect meted out to many another Tennessean whose achievements were overshadowed by the figure of the state's first President.

Colonel Williams refused to compromise principles for the sake of expediency, accepting instead retirement from public life. Certainly his services to his country and his adopted state merit more recognition than a piece of gray stone in one of its older cemeteries.[162]

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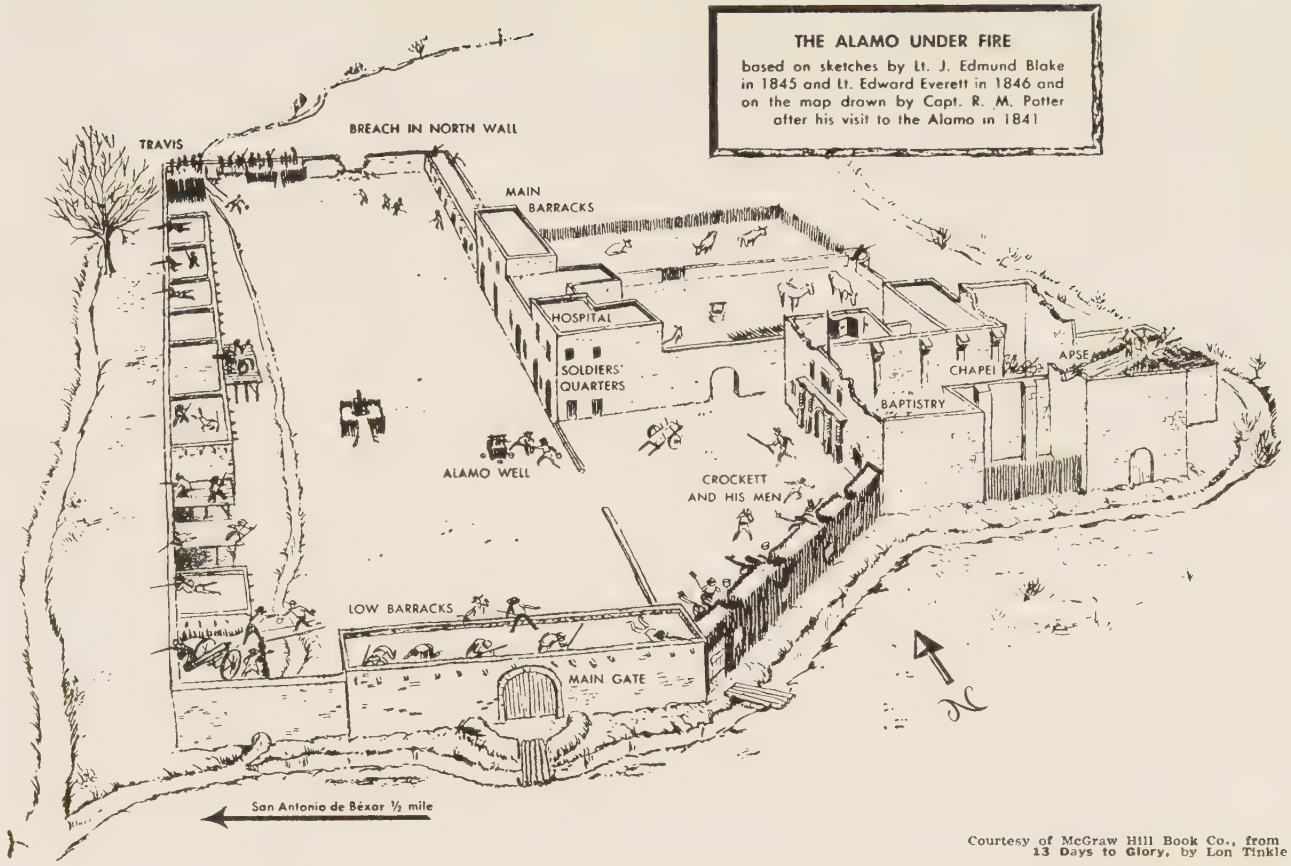
[161] The other children who lived to maturity were Mary Lawson, who married DeWitt McNutt; Cynthia, who married Dr. John Kennedy and later Robert Williams; and Susan, who married John Leese Moses. Joseph L. married Malinda Williams, and John II, Rhoda Campbell Morgan.

[162] Information has just reached the writer that a portrait painted by Eleanor Wiley is to be presented to the state by the great-granddaughters of John Williams, Misses Mary H. and Jane Williams of San Antonio, Texas, to be hung in the State Capitol.


THE ALAMO UNDER FIRE
based on sketches by Lt. J. Edmund Blake in 1845 and Lt. Edward Everett in 1846 and on the map drawn by Capt. R. M. Potter after his visit to the Alamo in 1841
TRAVIS
BREACH IN NORTH WALL
MAIN BARRACKS
HOSPITAL
SOLDIERS' QUARTERS
CHAPEL
APSE
BAPTISTRY
ALAMO WELL
CROCKETT AND HIS MEN
LOW BARRACKS
MAIN GATE
San Antonio de Bexar ½ mile

Courtesy of McGraw Hill Book Co., from 13 Days to Glory, by Lon Tinkle

DAVID CROCKETT IN TEXAS

By STANLEY J. FOLMSBEE AND ANNA GRACE CATRON

(Concluding "The Early Career of David Crockett," *Publications* No. 28, and "David Crockett: Congressman," *Publications* No. 29)

On November 1, 1835, less than three months after he had been defeated by Adam Huntsman in his campaign for re-election to Congress, David Crockett left his home in West Tennessee and began his journey to Texas. At any rate, such was his declared intention as expressed in a letter written the day before to his brother-in-law George Patton of North Carolina:

> I have Concluded to drop you a line[.] the whole Connection is well and I am on the eve of Starting to the Texes—on to morrow morning myself Abner Burgin and Lindsy K Tinkle & our Nephew William Patton from the Lowar Country[;] this will make our Company[.] we will go through Arkinsaw and I want to explore the Texes well before I return[.][1]

This letter not only names David's companions at the beginning of the journey but also provides a hint as to his chief aim in going to Texas. As he had done several times before, he was out to explore new country, preparatory to moving his family to a new location farther removed from progressing civilization. For him this was not merely the reaction of a typical, restless frontiersman. He had recently received a serious political setback, and it is probable that he was planning to start his political life anew, as well as hoping to improve his economic well-being, on the Texas frontier. At the time he made his original decision in August to go to Texas, the rebellion of that province against the Mexican republic had not yet begun, but a month before he departed on November 1, hostilities had opened in a rather irregular manner on October 2. As he moved toward Texas Crockett was only one of a

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[1] Quoted in James Atkins Shackford, *David Crockett: the Man and the Legend* (Chapel Hill, 1956), 210. Burgin was another of David's brothers-in-law; and Lindsey Tinkle a friend and neighbor. The nephew was the son of the deceased James Patton (brother of David's wife Elizabeth) who had recently come up from Mississippi because of a lawsuit involving an effort of two of the heirs to break the will of Robert Patton, David's father-in-law. *Ibid.*, 206-10.

great number of American volunteers who were to have a larger part in the early stages of the war than Texans themselves.[2]

Crockett's first stop was at Memphis, where he was entertained royally by his friends, including his former benefactor, Marcus B. Winchester. Also in the group was a future historian of Memphis, James D. Davis, who described the affair as a night-long tour of liquor dispensaries, characterized by brawling which David seems to have attempted to restrain. But he also made a number of speeches. In one of them he referred to his recent unsuccessful canvass, saying: "I told the voters that if they would elect me I would serve them to the best of my ability; but if they did not, they might go to h--l, and I would go to Texas. I am on my way now." As he crossed the Mississippi on a ferry boat, he was described as wearing "that same veritable coon-skin cap and hunting shirt." His only equipment was his "ever faithful rifle," and his "shot-pouch and powder-horn."[3]

The journey from Memphis to San Antonio de Bexar is described in a highly entertaining manner, but with complete unreliability, in *Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas* (Philadelphia, 1836), allegedly based on a "diary" supposedly kept by David and found in the Alamo after its fall by a Charles T. Beale. Although accepted and used by several of Crockett's biographers, this work is almost entirely pure fiction, as has been shown very conclusively by Professor James A. Shackford in his recent work, *David Crockett: the Man and the Legend.* According to the Shackford version, the Philadelphia publishers, Carey and Hart, conceived the idea, after learning of Crockett's death in the Alamo, that a book about his adventures in Texas would not only capitalize on the sudden stimulation of national interest but also help them dispose of the considerable number of copies of their book about his "Tour to the North" which they still had on hand. Accordingly they asked Richard Penn Smith, the playwright, to prepare such a

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[2] William C. Binkley, *The Texas Revolution* (Baton Rouge, La., 1952), 71, 96-97. See also Amelia Williams, "A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of its Defenders," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (Austin), XXXVI (Apr. 1933), 251-87, XXXVII (July, 1933-Apr., 1934), 1-44, 79-115, 157-84, 237-312. Hereafter cited Williams, "Critical Study."

[3] James D. Davis, *The History of the City of Memphis* (Memphis, 1873), 139-46. *Niles' Weekly Register* also recorded his departure from Memphis with his rifle and coon-skin cap. Shackford, *David Crockett,* 213. The rifle was the real "Betsy" of his hunting exploits and not the "pretty Betsy," as he called it, presented to him in Philadelphia in 1834. That gift rifle is now owned by a descendant, Mrs. A. Sidney Holderness, Philadelphia, Pa. *Ibid.,* 309 (n. 19).

volume; to make it appear to be David's own work they manufactured the myth of the "diary" and the Beale manuscript based upon it. Actually, these were nonexistent, and Smith used as the basis for the first two chapters of *Exploits* two letters which Crockett had written to Carey and Hart before he left Tennessee, and for the remainder of the volume he depended on his own imagination and such works about Texas as were available. Although the work was actually published by Carey and Hart, it carried as a cover-up the fictional names of P. K. and P. G. Collins on the title page as the publishers.[4]

Thus the delightful stories about the strange characters who allegedly became Crockett's companions—the gambler Thimblerig, the bee-hunter, the pirate, and the Indian—must be relegated to the realm of fiction,[5] and we must turn to the scarce but more authentic sources of information concerning the journey. Two brief references were made in *Niles' Weekly Register.* On December 5 it reported, more prophetically than it realized: "Col. *Crockett* has proceeded to *Texas*—to end his days there. A supper was given him at *Little Rock,* Arkansas"; and on December 26: "The emigration to *Arkansas* is very great. . . . Col. Crockett has left Little Rock, with his followers, for Texas. Many others had the same destination."[6]

The journey to Little Rock had been made by boat—down the Mississippi and up the Arkansas. But then the party struck out overland and probably reached the Red River at Fulton, Arkansas. Between there and the Texas border they passed through a small town called Lost Prairie, where Crockett, short of funds, traded his watch to Isaac N. Jones for $30.00. A short time after Crockett's death in the Alamo, Jones sent the watch to David's widow with a letter explaining the circumstances. During the preceding winter Crockett and several other

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[4] *Ibid.,* 273-81. The venture, despite its fictional character, appears to have been quite profitable.

[5] John M. Myers, *The Alamo* (New York, 1948), 148, who suspected the work to be apocryphal, comments, "Yet if fiction, it is fiction of a rare sort, and it is a pity that Richard Penn Smith didn't give up adapting French plays and use a great deal more of his talents on that branch of literature." Also probably fictional is the story that at Helena, Arkansas, Crockett's boat was boarded by a group of bankers, soldiers, and speculators who subscribed eighty or ninety thousand dollars as a "Crockett's fund" to be entrusted to David Crockett and several Texan leaders, including Bowie, Travis, and Fannin, already on the battlefield, to aid in recruiting an army to march into Texas "and there await orders to join such forces as may be present to cooperate with the United States army. . . ." Edward S. Ellis, *The Life of Colonel David Crockett* (Philadelphia, 1884), 202-203; Charles F. Allen, *David Crockett: Scout* (Philadelphia, 1911), 271-72. The United States army was not likely to be officially connected with the Texas rebellion.

[6] *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore), XLIX (1835-36), 225, 281.

gentlemen had ridden up to his house and asked accommodations for the night. He could not accommodate them, but he arranged to get them quarters in a neighbor's dwelling. Crockett spent the next day with him, at which time the exchange of the watch for cash was made.[7]

After exploring the Red River country the Crockett party turned to the southwest and soon passed through Clarksville, now the county seat of Red River County, Texas. Near there they were warned by Mrs. James Clark, who rode after them and overtook them about five miles west of the town, to turn eastward and avoid the Comanche country because those Indians were on the warpath. While on a hunting trip under the guidance of another Texas pioneer, Henry Stout, they met James Clark himself, who gave them the same advice.[8] It is probable, however, that Crockett disregarded these warnings and went on down through the interior of Texas to Nacogdoches, where he took an oath of allegiance to the Texas provisional government, and then turned eastward to San Augustine.[9]

It is possible, however, that as one careful student of the subject, Constance Rourke, believes, after reaching an impenetrable woods known as Jarnegan's Thicket, he decided to heed the warnings and returned to Fulton, on the Red River. From there, according to Miss Rourke, he took passage on a steamboat to Natchitoches, Louisiana, and in company with other volunteers then rode across the Texas border to Nacogdoches by way of San Augustine. After signing the oath at Nacogdoches, which Miss Rourke believes occurred on January 5, he returned to San Augustine and on January 9 wrote the last letter from his pen which is known to have survived.[10]

Addressed from "Saint Agusteen Texas" to "My Dear Sone & daughter [Margaret and Wiley Flowers, Crockett's P.O., Gibson County, Tennessee], 9th January 1836," it began:

> This is the first I have had an opertunity to write to you with convenience[.] I am now blessed with excellent health and am in high

[7] The letter was published in *ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1836, L, 432-33, from the Jackson, Tenn., *Truth Teller*. According to Shackford (p. 214) the watch is now owned by Mrs. A. Sidney Holderness, a descendant of David's. David also received Jones' watch as a part of the transaction.

[8] [Claude V. Hall], "Early Days in Red River County," *Bulletin* (Nacogdoches) No. 38 (Jan., 1932), of the Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, 59-60. See also, Shackford, *David Crockett*, 215.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Constance Rourke, *Davy Crockett* (New York, 1934), 168-74. Unfortunately, this work is not documented; and the date of the oath-signing on a reconstructed muster roll in the Texas Archives, as will be shown later, is January 14.

> spirits although I have had many difficulties to encounter[.] I have got through Safe and have been received by everybody with the open cerimony of friendship[.] I am hailed with a harty welcom to this country[.] A dinner and a party of ladys have honored me with an invitation to partisapate both at Nacing docher and at this place[.] The Cannon was fired here on my arivel and I must say as to what I have seen of Texas it is the garden spot of the world the best land and the best prospects for health I ever saw and I do believe it is a fortune to any man to come here[.] there is a world of country here to Settle[.]

Revealing his own plans of settlement, he continued:

> It is not required here to pay down for your League of land[.] every man is entitled to his head right of 4000-428 [4,428] acres—they may make the money to pay for it on the land. I expect in all probilaty [probability] to settle on the Bordar [Bois d'Arc Creek?] or Chactaw Bro- [Choctaw Bayou?][11] of Red River that I have no doubt is the richest country in the world[.] Good land and plenty of timber and the best springs & good mill streams good range clear water—and every appearance of good health and game plenty—It is in the pass whare the Buffalo passes North to South and back twice a year—and bees and honey plenty—I have a great hope of getting the agency to settle that country and I would be glad to see every friend I have settled thare[.] It would be a fortune to them all.

Thus is confirmed the hint in his letter of October 31 that his main purpose in going to Texas was to find a place to settle. That his volunteering for military service was the result of a later decision and was not without its political overtones is indicated by the following:

> I have taken the oath of government and have enrolled my name as a volunteer for Six [?] monthe and will set out for the Rio grand in a few days with the volunteers from the United States[.] But all volunteers is intitled to a vote for a member to the convention or to be voted for and I have but little doubt of being elected a member to form a constitution for this province[.] I am rejoiced at my fate. I had rather be in my present situation than to be elected to a seat in congress for life[.] I am in hopes of making a fortune yet for myself and family bad as my prospects has been[.]

He closed with parental advice:

> I have not wrote to William [his second oldest son] but have requested John [John Wesley, his eldest son] to direct him what to do[.] I hope you will show him this letter and also Brother John as it is not convenient at this time for me to write to them[.] I hope you will all do the best you can and I will do the same. Do not be unesy about me I am among friends—I must close with great respects[.] Your affectionate father[.] Farewell. David Crockett
> to Wily & Margaret Flowers[12]

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[11] The identifications in brackets are from *ibid.*, 167, 175.

[12] The original of this letter is owned by W. D. Pate, Martin, Tenn. It is quoted in its entirety but with inaccuracies by Miss Rourke (pp. 174-76); by Shackford (pp. 214, 216); by Emma Inman Williams, *Historic Madison: The Story of Jackson and Madison*

The man before whom David took the oath of allegiance, Colonel John Forbes, two years later contributed to a Texas newspaper an interesting account of the event. When Crockett and several companions came to volunteer, Colonel Forbes wrote out an oath in a form which Crockett refused to accept because it required allegiance not only to the provisional government of Texas, but also to "any future government that may be hereafter declared." David insisted upon the insertion of the word "republican" between future and government, because he feared that some later government might be despotic. Forbes stated that the original document, with the word "republican" interlined, had recently been deposited in the office of the Texas secretary of war.[13]

That original record was destroyed when the Texas capitol was burned in 1855, but Colonel Forbes kept a "true copy" which he submitted years later to the Texas Archives, along with a reconstructed roll of those volunteers who took the oath of allegiance before him in January, 1836. That copy of the oath includes the word republican. The nineteenth and twenty-second names on the list of those signing, according to Shackford, are those of David Crockett and his nephew, William Patton; but the list does not include the names of the other two of David's original companions, Abner Burgin and Lindsey Tinkle, who presumably returned home instead of joining the Texas army.[14]

The date given on this reconstructed muster roll is January 14, 1836, but that must be inaccurate; David had already written on January 9 that he had signed the oath. According to Amelia Williams, one of the most careful investigators of the Alamo story, this muster roll, which is in the General Land Office of Texas, "gives three separate lists which contain, altogether, the names of more than a hundred volunteers who took the oath of allegiance before John Forbes at Nacogdoches on January 14, 1836."[15] It seems unlikely that all of these men signed on the same day; the process may have been spread

County, Tennessee (Jackson, 1946), 427-28 (which appears to have been followed by Shackford); and by Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVII, 110. Photostatic copies of the original are in the University of Tennessee Library and in the possession of Ira N. Chiles, Knoxville.

[13] *Niles' Weekly Register,* June 23, 1838, LIV, 258, from *Texas Telegraph.*

[14] Shackford, *David Crockett,* 216-19. It is possible that Shackford confused the nephew's name with William H. Patton, another Tennessean who later became Houston's aide, whose name was on Forbes' muster roll. Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker (eds.), *The Writings of Sam Houston,* 8 vols. (Austin, 1938-48), 340n. According to Rourke (p. 152), the nephew was in Texas while Crockett was there, but at that time was "not traveling with Crockett."

[15] Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVII, 166.

out over a period of two weeks or more. Therefore, it is possible that Miss Rourke's date of January 5 for David's signing may be approximately correct.

After the oath-taking sixteen or seventeen of the signers, according to a reminiscence published in 1841, secured horses, organized a company of "mounted volunteers" under Colonel David Crockett, and proceeded to San Antonio by way of Washington on the Brazos.[16] Confirmation is supplied by seven requisitions on the provisional government of Texas for board for "Tennessee Mounted Volunteers" and signed by David Crockett and others while resting at Washington or between there and San Antonio. These requisitions indicate that there were eighteen or more men in the company.[17] From these and other sources Miss Williams compiled a list of sixteen names of men she believes entered the Alamo early in February with Crockett or followed a few days later. Eleven of the group, including Crockett, she identified as Tennesseans, three as Kentuckians, one each from Virginia and Pennsylvania, and one as from "Kentucky-Tennessee." They were all ranked in the fort as privates, but Crockett and Joseph G. Washington bore "courtesy" titles as colonel, and William B. Harrison was listed as one of the captains in the fortress.[18]

When Crockett entered the Alamo early in February the provisional government of the rebellious province of Texas was in a state of utmost confusion, as had been the case ever since its inception. This government had been set up by a general "Consultation" which had convened November 1, 1835, and had adopted on November 7 a declaration of causes of taking up arms instead of a declaration of independence. The conservative majority was still hopeful that several Mexican provinces could be induced to rise in a general revolution with the aim of overthrowing President Santa Anna and re-establishing the constitution of 1824. The provisional government erected by the Consultation was

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[16] *Ibid.*, 165, citing "A Volunteer of 1836" to Mr. Teulon, Mar. 22, 1841, *Austin City Gazette*. Miss Williams identifies the volunteer as A. L. Harrison, who became ill on the way and failed to reach the Alamo.

[17] *Ibid.*, 165-66, citing Comptroller Military Service Records, Texas State Library. One signed by Crockett at Washington is dated January 23, 1836.

[18] *Ibid.*, 167-68. Her list does not include the name of William Patton. There is evidence that some of the company, including David's cousin John Harris, "straggled" by the way to locate their headright land, and arrived a few days late. This fits in with the testimony of John Sutherland that Crockett entered the Alamo in company with twelve other men. *Ibid.*, 166; Dr. John Sutherland, *The Fall of the Alamo* (San Antonio, 1936), 11.

composed of a governor, a council, made up of one member of each municipality, and a lieutenant governor who was to preside over the council. There was, however, a failure to differentiate clearly between the executive and legislative functions. The Consultation elected Henry Smith governor, James W. Robinson lieutenant governor, and Sam Houston major-general of the regular army.

Unfortunately this regular army existed only on paper—it was still to be recruited—and the volunteer army in the field was to be outside the control of the provisional government except for "advisory communications." Houston, with the support of Governor Smith, insisted that the volunteers, then engaged in besieging the Mexicans under General Martin Perfecto de Cos at San Antonio de Bexar, be withdrawn and furloughed home, and that chief attention be devoted to raising a regular army. The council, however, voted to encourage the volunteers to maintain the siege. In December the volunteers refused to obey a decision of their officers to raise the siege, organized a frontal assault, and succeeded in taking San Antonio and capturing General Cos on December 11. They released Cos, however, and permitted him to withdraw his army from Texas. Most of the volunteers, believing that the war was over, now went home; and the contingent left at San Antonio (as frequently called Bexar) was made up largely of non-Texan volunteers recently arrived from the United States. They elected Frank W. Johnson as their commander and announced that they would not take orders from any officers of the regular army, including General Houston, whom Governor Smith had instructed to take charge at San Antonio.[19]

The disputes between Smith and the council over every conceivable subject continued and came to a climax over the question of sending an expedition to attack the Mexican town of Matamoros near the mouth of the Rio Grande. The council, ignoring Houston entirely, authorized Colonels Francis W. Johnson and James W. Fannin, Jr., to proceed with such an expedition after the opportune time for it had passed. Colonel James C. Neill, left in command at Bexar, reported to the governor and council, January 6, that Johnson and Colonel James Grant (the real originator of the plan) had completely stripped the place of both troops and supplies for that expedition at a time when it

[19] Binkley, *Texas Revolution,* 74-89; Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVI, 251-56.

was learned that a thousand Mexican troops were approaching. Governor Smith erupted in a violent denunciation of the council members and adjourned the council until March 1. The angry council responded by suspending Smith from his office and subjecting him to impeachment. It recognized Robinson as acting-governor, but Smith refused to give up his position. Thus when a new invasion of Texas by Santa Anna impended, the government was in a state of confusion, and the constitutional convention called by the council was not to meet until March 1. In the meantime the Matamoros expedition was broken up and the Alamo besieged.[20]

Under the circumstances, the question has often been raised as to whether it would not have been good military policy to have evacuated San Antonio de Bexar before it was too late, rather than to have attempted a hopeless defense. In support of this argument is the claim that General Houston actually ordered its evacuation. On January 17, after hearing from Colonel Neill that he had only eighty effective men under his command and that Bexar was in a practically defenseless state, he wrote Governor Smith:

> . . . Colonel [James] Bowie will leave here [Goliad] in a few hours for Bexar with a detachment of from thirty to fifty men. Capt. [William H.] Patton's Company, it is believed, are now there. I have ordered the fortifications in the town of Bexar to be demolished, and, if you should think well of it, I will remove all the cannon and other munitions of war to Gonzales and Copano, blow up the Alamo and abandon the place, as it will be impossible to keep up the Station with volunteers, the sooner I can be authorized the better it will be for the country.[21]

This letter, it will be observed, does not say that Houston had definitely ordered an evacuation. That move was to await further instructions from Smith, which apparently never arrived as the Governor was too busy with his fight with the council to write. Although Houston did not know it, Colonel Johnson before his departure had already ordered the destruction of the fortifications in the city of Bexar and the moving of the cannon into the Alamo.[22] As late as January 30, Houston wrote

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[20] *Ibid.*, 256-65; Binkley, *Texas Revolution,* 89-94; J. C. Neill to Governor and Council, Jan. 6, 1936, William C. Binkley (ed.), *Official Correspondence of the Texan Revolution, 1835-1836,* 2 vols. (New York, 1936), 272-75; Zoe Allison, "Notes on the Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council of the Republic of Texas Held at San Felipe de Austin November 14, 1835-March 11, 1836," *Bulletin* No. 38 of the S. F. Austin State Teachers College, 84-88.

[21] Williams and Barker (eds.), *Writings,* I, 339. The letter from Neill to Houston, Jan. 14, is printed in Binkley (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 294-95.

[22] Johnson to the General Council, Jan. 3, 1836, *ibid.,* 267-68.

Smith describing his efforts to increase the garrison at Goliad because, as he explained it, "Should Bexar remain a military post, Goliad must be maintained, or the former will be cut off from all supplies arriving by sea at the port of Copano."[23]

It is true that Houston years later in a speech delivered in 1845 stated that he had "ordered Colonel Travis to blow up the fortress at San Antonio and retreat."[24] It should be noted, however, that Colonel W. B. Travis did not assume command at San Antonio, under orders from Governor Smith, until February 11.[25] By that time Sam Houston was on a furlough from his army command and engaged in Indian negotiations.[26] It is certain that what he had in mind in 1845 was his rather equivocal orders to Neill by way of Bowie of January 17. This is made clear by his still later defense of his actions in the United States Senate in 1859, in which he said that on January 17 he had ordered Neill to blow up the Alamo and fall back to Gonzales, but that neither Neill nor Travis, his successor in command, had obeyed that order since it was secretly superceded by the council. As pointed out by the editors of the *Writings of Sam Houston,* however, the chaos in the Texas government was so great that the execution of the order was left largely to the discretion of Bowie and Neill; and the only contemporary reaction to the order which they could find was an official report by Neill that sufficient oxen and mules could not be secured to transfer the cannon and other munitions to Gonzales. Also, he and Bowie had decided before Travis arrived that San Antonio was the "key to the situation in Texas" and must be maintained. It will also be recalled that Houston's authority over volunteers was very nebulous. When he resumed command, March 4, under the more definite authority conferred by the constitutional convention, it was already too late to save the Alamo.[27]

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[23] Williams and Barker (eds.), *Writings,* I, 345.

[24] *Ibid.,* VI, 7.

[25] Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVI, 274.

[26] Llerena Friend, *Sam Houston: The Great Designer* (Austin, 1954), 66.

[27] *Ibid.,* 67. Williams and Barker (eds.), *Writings,* VII, 306, 335 (n. 4). Neill reported to the governor and council on January 23, however, that a priest in Bexar had told Bowie that Santa Anna's plan was to attack Copano and La Bahia (Goliad) first and send only a few hundred cavalry to attack Bexar, and that "If teams could be obtained here by any means to remove the Cannon and Public Property I would immediately destroy the fortifications and abandon the place, taking the men under my command here, to join the Commander in Chief [Houston] at Copanoe. . . ." Binkley (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 328.

Yet, largely on the basis of these statements of Houston's of 1845 and 1859, together with another excerpt from the 1845 speech, Professor Shackford, writing his in most other respects admirable biography of David Crockett, came to a very questionable conclusion. In Houston's other statement of 1845, after pointing out that Colonel Fannin, who was massacred with his garrison at Goliad shortly after the fall of the Alamo, could have saved himself and his men if he had followed Houston's order to retreat which was dispatched as soon as the news of the Alamo disaster arrived, Houston continued:

> Travis, Fannin, Crockett, Bowie, were all brave and gallant spirits; they never, while living employed falsehood and slander to carry a point or injure a character; their acts were open and bold; their policy of warfare was to divide, advance and conquer. My policy was to concentrate, retreat and conquer, . . .[28]

Shackford's conclusion is that the alleged insubordination of those men was due to the strong anti-Houston sentiment on the part of anti-Jacksonian volunteers from the United States because they considered Houston to be a close friend of Jackson's. When Crockett arrived, burning with hatred against Old Hickory, he greatly stimulated, thinks Shackford, that anti-Houston feeling and contributed to the tendency toward insubordination with its disastrous results.[29]

There are several factors which cast doubt upon this highly speculative conclusion. In the first place, the anti-Houston feeling can be explained largely on the ground of personal jealousy and rivalry without any reference to Jackson. Fannin's bitterness, as an example, was due chiefly to Houston's denunciation of the Matamoros expedition which he was to lead as a "piratical or predatory war."[30] The disagreements between Governor Smith, supported by Houston, and the council were to a large extent due to factional differences as to the purpose of the revolution. Smith and Houston were ardent advocates of a declaration of independence, whereas a majority of the council held to the illusory hope that an uprising of Mexican liberals against Santa

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[28] Williams and Barker (eds.), *Writings,* VI, 8. The speeches were delivered in reply to the charges being made against Houston that he had deliberately allowed those national heroes to be destroyed at the Alamo and Goliad.

[29] Shackford, *David Crockett,* 223-25. Constance Rourke, *Davy Crockett,* 206, suggests the same possibility. It is true, of course, that Houston was considered a protege of Jackson's; but other factors were more important in leading some Texans to reject his leadership, especially *before* San Jacinto.

[30] Houston to Henry Smith, Jan. 30, 1836, Williams and Barker (eds.), *Writings,* I, 344-55.

Anna would make possible the restoration of the constitution of 1824 and make unnecessary any separation from Mexico. The Matamoros expedition was involved in this difference, for its chief instigator, James Grant, was definitely opposed to Texan independence and he was reported by Colonel Neill as engaged in underhanded activity designed to create opposition to Houston among the garrison at Bexar. That garrison, however, was overwhelmingly in favor of Texan independence and held an indignation meeting when Governor Smith was suspended from office by the council.[31]

Most damaging to the Shackford thesis is the fact that the decision to hold Bexar at all costs was made by Colonels Neill and Bowie and concurred in by Travis before Crockett arrived; and it was made not on the basis of any opposition to Houston but because of their belief that Bexar was the "key" to the defense of Texas. Bowie arrived at San Antonio on January 19 and on February 2 wrote to Governor Smith:

> We are labouring night and day, laying up provisions for a siege, encouraging our men, and calling on the Government for relief. . . . The salvation of Texas depends in great measure in keeping Bejar [Bexar] out of the hands of the enemy. It serves as a frontier picquet guard and if it were in the possession of Santa Anna there is no strong hold from which to repell him in his march towards the Sabine. . . . Col. Neill and Myself have come to the solemn resolution that we will rather die in these ditches than give it up to the enemy.

Colonel Travis, reluctantly accepting the assignment from Governor Smith, arrived that day or the next, and there is not one word in his dispatches about any thought of evacuation. As expressed by Miss Williams,

> . . . it seems clear that the deep-seated belief that "Bexar was the key to Texas" and should it fall into the enemy's hands the colonists would be at his mercy, was the real reason the Commander-in-Chief's orders were not obeyed. The place, moreover, seemed to cast some sort of spell over the Texan leaders. However indifferent or reluctant a man might be before going to Bexar, once there, he was soon writing to the Governor, the Council, the Commander-in-Chief—anybody that had any authority to give aid, saying, "Bexar is the key to the situation, public safety demands our lives rather than surrender it into the hands of the enemy."[32]

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[31] Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVI, 251-72; Neill to Houston, Jan. 14, 1836, Binkley (ed.), *Correspondence,* 294-95. Zoe Allison, "Notes," *loc. cit.,* cited by Shackford (p. 313), makes no mention of any anti-Jackson feeling and gives the impression that the major cause of difficulty between the council and the governor was the disagreement over the question of independence.

[32] Bowie to Smith, Feb. 2, 1836; Travis to Smith, Feb. 13, 1836, Binkley (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 381-83, 419-20; Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVI, 272-78.

The date of Crockett's arrival at Bexar cannot be determined exactly, but it was probably February 7 or 8, since according to the memory of one witness he came in "with twelve others, direct from Tennessee" and "in a few days—less than a week after Travis arrived."[33] On February 11 Green B. Jameson, the chief engineer wrote: "We are now one hundred and fifty strong[.] Col Crockett and Col Travis both here & Col Bowie in command of the volunteer forces. Col Neill left to day for home on account of an express from his family informing him of their ill health."[34]

Following the departure of Colonel Neill an unseemly quarrel arose between Travis and Bowie over their rights of command, and there is evidence that Crockett became indirectly involved. Before leaving, Neill appointed Travis to serve as commanding officer during his absence; but since it was feared that the volunteers would not wish to serve under an officer of the regular army, as was Travis, the volunteers, who constituted about half of the garrison, were permitted to hold an election to choose a commanding officer for their group. They elected Bowie unanimously. Bowie thereupon claimed that as colonel he outranked Lieutenant Colonel Travis and attempted to assume command of the entire garrison. On February 13 Travis reported to Governor Smith that since his election Bowie

> has been roaring drunk all the Time; has assumed all command—& is proceeding in a most disorderly & irregular manner—interfering with private property, releasing prisoners sentenced by court martial & by civil court & turning every thing topsy turvey—

Among the prisoners set free was one D. H. Barre, a private of the regular army who had been convicted by court martial of mutiny. In a second letter of the same date Travis transmitted to Smith the sentence of the court martial, other pertinent documents, "enclosed impartial statements" (presumably the letters of J. J. Baugh and Amos Pollard), and also "the statement of Col. D. Crockett relative to the release of s'd Barre."[35] The next day the disagreement appears to have been resolved, with the understanding that Bowie should command the volunteers of the garrison and Travis the regulars and the volunteer

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[33] *Ibid.*, 279, citing "Dr. John Sutherland's Account of the Fall of the Alamo," ed. by James T. DeShields, *Dallas News,* Feb. 5, 1911. See also Officers at Bexar to Convention (no date), Binkley (ed.), *Correspondence,* 393-95 (n. 1), which shows also that two delegates to the convention had been elected before Crockett arrived.

[34] Jameson to Henry Smith, Feb. 11, 1836, *ibid.,* I, 409-10.

[35] The two Travis letters and those of Baugh and Pollard are printed in *ibid.,* 419-24, but Crockett's statement is not.

cavalry. But this agreement was merely a truce and grave differences between the two continued, even after the Mexican siege had begun.[36]

What Crockett did after his arrival at San Antonio is difficult to determine because of the scarcity of authentic sources. As previously mentioned, Professor Shackford has shown that the alleged "diary" supposedly picked up on the battlefield and used as the basis of the *Exploits in Texas* volume was the figment of Richard Penn Smith's imagination and completely unreliable. It is of course probable, as some have suggested, that he was popular with all the men and entranced them with his speeches, jokes, and tall tales. Dr. John Sutherland, who left one of the best first-hand memoirs of the Alamo, gives the impression that Crockett enlivened the tedious hours with his irrepressible humor. According to this observant eyewitness, Crockett on his arrival was called on for a speech. He "mounted a goods- box" and amidst prolonged applause "related in his own peculiar style some of those jolly anecdotes with which he often regaled his friends and which he, only, could tell with appropriate grace."[37] According to another account, a fandango, or fancy dress ball, was held in celebration of his arrival.[38] One of the survivors, Mrs. Almeron Dickinson[39] reported that he "was a performer on the violin, and often during the siege took it up and played his favorite tunes," Also, she "heard him say several times during the siege: 'I think we had better march out and die in the open air. I don't like to be hemmed up.' "[40]

The siege, during which Crockett and the others were "hemmed up," began on February 23. Before that date the garrison had occupied the city of San Antonio. Refusing to believe the rumors that a Mexican army was approaching, the restless troops were not susceptible to discipline. They spent much of their time eating, sleeping, drinking, and chasing señoritas. They refused to drill and only the officers could be

[36] Travis and Bowie to Smith, Feb. 14, 1836, *ibid.*, 425; Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVI, 285. J. M. Myers, *The Alamo,* 128-30, points out that Travis' view of Bowie's actions was colored by his anger of the moment and that there may have been some point to Bowie's policy of trying to curry favor with the Mexicans in Bexar by freeing some of that nationality from jail. See also Lon Tinkle, *13 Days to Glory* (New York, 1958), 83-88.

[37] *Ibid.,* 123-24; Rourke, *Davy Crockett,* 207; Sutherland, *Fall of Alamo,* 11. Crockett said he had come without any selfish motive whatever to aid the Texans in their "noble cause."

[38] Tinkle, *13 Days,* 240.

[39] According to Shackford and also Miss Williams, this name should be spelled Dickerson; but Walter Lord, on the basis of the spelling on the marriage certificate and land records, insists that Dickinson is the correct form. Lord to S. J. Folmsbee, June 16, Oct. 14, 1958.

[40] Quoted in J. M. Morphis, *History of Texas* (New York, 1874), 174-75.

induced to work on the fortifications. Scouting service was very poor, since all the horses were kept at a ranch five or six miles out of town.[41] Consequently, the garrison was surprised by the sudden arrival of the Mexican army on the heights overlooking the city on the night of February 22. Having been apprised of that fact about noon the next day, Colonel Travis ordered the concentration of the Texan forces within the Alamo. Belatedly, energetic measures were taken to improve the defenses of that mission-fortress, planting the cannon and bringing in supplies. Dr. John Sutherland and John M. Smith were sent on a mission to Gonzales to ask for aid. According to Dr. Sutherland, Crockett, standing by, said to Colonel Travis: "Colonel, here am I. Assign me a position, and I and my twelve boys will try to defend it." Travis then assigned Crockett and his "boys" to defend the picket wall extending from the barracks on the south to the corner of the church.[42]

The Alamo, about one-half mile east of the city, was originally constructed for a mission rather than a fortress. It was built in the Franciscan pattern and included a large rectangular court, or plaza, about three acres in extent, framed by stone walls three feet thick and from nine to twelve feet high. In the place of walls some parts of the boundary were made up of buildings. A large section of the western front consisted of a series of low buildings which were used as barracks. The opposite, or eastern front included the largest building of the Alamo, the two-story (in part) convent, called in 1836 the main barracks. It was nearly two hundred feet long and had soldiers' quarters and the armory on the first floor and a hospital on the second. The southern edge of the plaza included the main entrance, a ten-foot-wide *porte-cochère* which divided the southern or "low" barracks into two sections, one of which was used as the prison. The church, or chapel, was located about fifty feet east of the southern end of the plaza and was in a very poor state of repair. Its roof, which had caved in as early as 1762, had never been replaced; but its high and strong walls made it the strongest section for defense. It was connected from its northwest corner by a twelve-foot-high stone wall to the southern end of the main

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[41] Tinkle, *13 Days,* 15; Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVI, 285-87.

[42] *Ibid.,* XXXVII, 12-13; Sutherland, *Fall of Alamo,* 20. Earlier Crockett was offered a higher command by Travis but rejected it, preferring to fight in the ranks and lead only the men who had come with him to Bexar. *Ibid.,* 11.

barracks. The old wall between the southwest corner of the church and the end of the south barracks had long since been destroyed and was replaced by a picket fence supported by an earthen embankment. It was to this vulnerable point in the defenses of the Alamo that David Crockett and his "Tennessee boys" were assigned. Eighteen or more cannon were mounted: three 12-pounders on a scaffold in the church, four 4-pounders on the south stockade or picket wall defended by Crockett, two above the *porte-cochère,* an 18-pounder at the southwest corner of the plaza, two 8-pounders in the center of the west barrier, another 8-pounder at the northwest corner of the plaza, and two or three on the north wall, one of which was to protect a breach which was partially made by Santa Anna's artillery. Since there were no bastions, these cannon had to be mounted on piles of earth, leaving the artillerymen seriously exposed. There were only a few loopholes in the buildings and none in the walls; consequently, the riflemen were also dangerously exposed to gunfire. Therefore, the Alamo could scarcely be called a fort. Its walls were not thick enough to withstand a a prolonged bombardment, and it was seriously vulnerable to assault by escalade.[43]

On February 23 Santa Anna occupied the city of San Antonio and raised a red flag over the San Fernando church as a signal that no quarter would be given. Travis replied with a shot from the 18-pounder; but at the same time the Mexicans sounded a parley and raised a white flag. Bowie, without consulting Travis, sent Jameson out under a white flag to see if a parley actually was desired and what terms of surrender would be offered. Santa Anna denied displaying any white flag and told Jameson the garrison could be considered only as rebellious foreigners and nothing less than unconditional surrender could be accepted without any guarantee that lives would be spared. By his request for a parley Bowie revived the old dispute with Travis over command; but the next day Bowie was stricken with typhoid-pneumonia, possibly complicated by tuberculosis, and thereafter Travis was in sole command of the fortress. Naturally, no further consideration was given to the idea of surrender.[44]

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[43] For descriptions of the Alamo see R. M. Potter, "The Fall of the Alamo," *Magazine of American History* (New York, 1877-1893), II (Jan., 1878), 1-21; Myers, *The Alamo,* 178-83; Tinkle, *13 Days,* 42-44, sketch on end papers; Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVII, 17-19.

[44] *Ibid.,* 15-17, 27; Tinkle, *13 Days,* 60-62, 89-90. Tinkle says that Crockett was

On the 25th the Mexicans attempted to plant some cannon near the entrance to the fort but were prevented by the defenders' cannon and rifle fire which caused a great number of casualties. Travis in his report said, "The Hon. David Crockett was seen at all points, animating the men to do their duty." That night under cover of some old straw and wooden houses in the neighborhood the Mexicans succeeded in planting their batteries; but later that night a sortee from the fort destroyed those houses and left the batteries seriously exposed. Apparently, it was the accurate rifle fire of Crockett and his "boys" which made possible the success of that venture without the loss of a single Texan.[45]

As the days passed the Mexican investment of the fort tightened, the bombardment became more intense, and the Mexican army received reinforcements. On the other hand, the numerous appeals for aid sent out by Travis were largely fruitless. On March 1 thirty-two men from Gonzales succeeded in getting into the fort; but two days later the courier James Bonham brought the distressing news that Colonel Fannin had started out from Goliad with 400 men but had turned back because of difficulties on the way and because of a decision on the part of the officers to leave the Alamo to its fate and concentrate on making Goliad more defensible. Travis sent one last pathetic appeal for help to the Texas convention which had convened on March 1 at Washington on the Brazos.[46] Then, according to an account which in recent years has acquired a greater degree of respectability than was previously accorded it, he called his men together to explain to them the desperate nature of the situation.

Travis admitted that he had been deceived and had deceived the troops as to the prospects of relief. "Surrounded by an army that could almost eat us for breakfast," they had no hope of help, "for no force that we could reasonably have expected could cut its way through the strong ranks of those Mexicans." Surrender was impossible in view of the Mexicans' clear indication that they would give no quarter, and it was impossible for the small garrison to cut its way through the enemy's

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responsible for the first casualty among the Mexicans, which gave them respect for the Texans' markmanship, *Ibid.*, 63.

[45] *Ibid.*, 118-20; Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVII, 28-29, 28n.

[46] *Ibid.*, 30-31; Tinkle, *13 Days,* 159-60, 169-76. This convention adopted a declaration of independence on March 2, and two days later named Houston as commander-in-chief of all Texas forces.

ranks. Remaining in the fort and fighting to the last moment, they would all be slain, for Santa Anna was "determined to storm the fort and take it, even at the greatest cost of the lives of his own men." Therefore, he said, "let us band together as brothers, and vow to die together"; and when the Mexicans at last should storm the fort, "let us kill them as they come! Kill them as they scale our walls! Kill them as they leap within! . . . and continue to kill them as long as one of us shall remain alive!" But Travis was willing to "leave every man to his own choice." Anyone who wished to try to escape was at "liberty to do so." He then drew his sword and "with its point traced a line upon the ground," and asked everyone who was "determined to stay here and die with me to come across this line." With one exception every soldier crossed the line. Even the prostrate Bowie asked to have his bed moved across it. The one exception was a French mercenary named Louis (Moses) Rose, who had retreated with Napoleon from Moscow. To the contemptuous Bowie he declared, "I am not prepared to die, and shall not do so if I can avoid it." Crockett's comment was, "You may as well conclude to die with us, old man, for escape is impossible." In this opinion Crockett turned out to be wrong, for Rose scaled the wall and managed to escape. He recounted his story to his friend W. P. Zuber, who eventually published it in the *Texas Almanac* in 1873.[47]

On the night of March 5 Santa Anna, despite objections raised by his officers, decided that the fort should be taken by assault. The next morning at 4 o'clock the attack began, the Mexican troops in four columns attacking the fort on all four sides. The first two assaults were beaten back with terrific losses on the part of the Mexicans. The calmest man among the defenders, according to one of the Mexicans, was the one in buckskin who wore a peculiar cap. Captain Rafael Soldana described him as standing up to reload his gun with great composure, paying no attention to the enemy fire.[48] The third attack finally was concentrated on the north wall of the plaza, which had

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[47] Morphis, *History of Texas,* 179-87; Tinkle, *13 Days,* 179-85. Miss Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVII, 31n, could find no record of any Moses Rose as a member of the Alamo garrison, but since the time of her research Rose has been identified and evidence of his having been in the Alamo discovered. In a number of cases in Texas courts "relative to the disposal of property of men who had died in the Alamo, Rose's testimony was accepted as that of a man who had seen them in the fort not long before they were killed." Myers, *The Alamo,* 13.

[48] Tinkle, *13 Days,* 206. At the same time, however, he was pouring scorn on the Mexicans in a loud voice.

been partially breached by the earlier bombardment. This attack was eventually successful and the Mexicans were able to scale the walls and gain control of the plaza. The outnumbered Texans found cover in the buildings around the plaza and in the church; but the Mexicans seized the cannon on the walls and used them to batter down the doors. The defenders were eventually dispatched in hand-to-hand combat. Many of the bodies were mutilated, some by being tossed on the bayonets of the Mexicans. According to some accounts a few of the defenders were discovered hiding under mattresses—the number varying from five to seven—and were taken before Santa Anna, who ordered them to be immediately killed. The bodies of the slain Texans, totalling 182 or 183, were placed on a funeral pyre and burned. The only survivors were non-combatants, mostly Mexican women and children, but included were Mrs. Dickinson (the wife of an officer of the garrison) and her child and two Negro servants, Joe and Sam, of Travis and Bowie, respectively.[49]

There are several conflicting accounts of the manner in which David Crockett met his death. As mentioned above, Professor Shackford has established the spurious nature of the volume published in 1836, *Col. Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas.* In the preface of that work its real author, Richard Penn Smith, included a description of Crockett's death based on contemporary accounts supplemented by his own imagination. In this version David was one of six who surrendered, not after being pulled out from under a mattress but out in the open behind a barricade. General Castrillon spared them because he was "moved by a soldier's admiration for a brave enemy." But when Santa Anna "flew into a violent rage" at Castrillon, and his officers "plunged their swords into the bosoms of their defenseless prisoners,"

> Colonel Crockett, seeing the act of treachery, instantly sprang like a tiger at the ruffian chief, but before he could reach him a dozen swords were sheathed in his indomitable heart; and he fell, and died without a groan, a frown on his brow, and a smile of scorn and defiance on his lips.[50]

Although this highly colored account attained considerable acceptance in later years, it is generally believed to have been chiefly the

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[49] Good accounts of the taking of the Alamo may be found in *ibid.,* 191-227; Myers, *The Alamo,* 209-25; and Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVII, 34-44.

[50] This part of the preface is quoted in Hamlin Garland's "Introduction" to the Scribner edition of David Crockett's *Autobiography* (New York, 1923), 9-10. Although Constance Rourke accepts the spurious "diary" in *Exploits* as probably genuine, she rejects Smith's version of Crockett's death as completely imaginary. *Davy Crockett,* 219-20.

product of playwright Smith's imagination. But Shackford's own version of Crockett's death is also unsatisfactory, based almost entirely on the testimony of an alleged witness who probably was not there, a "Madame Candelaria" who gave a very questionable interview to William Corner in 1888. As given by Corner in a work published three years later:

> . . . the old Senora said he [Crockett] was one of the first to fall; that he advanced from the Church building towards the wall or rampart running from the end of the stockade, slowly and with great deliberation, without arms, when suddenly a volley was fired by the Mexicans causing him to fall forward on his face, dead.[51]

Professor Shackford probably was intrigued by the idea that the great Hero might have died "unarmed, undramatically, alone."[52] One of the many facts which reveals the unreliability of this account is that at the beginning of the slaughter of the garrison the Mexicans were in no position to fire any volleys against the defenders of the south stockade as they were in the process of scaling the north wall many yards distant. Those who attacked the south wall could not have fired into the interior before they had killed many of the defenders stationed on top of that stockade. Moreover, a careful student of the Alamo recently wrote one of the authors: "We Alamo fans argue about almost everything, except our virtually unanimous opinion that Madame Candelaria wasn't there. That Corner interview . . . has a very wooden ring when studied as a whole."[53]

It is probably true that Crockett died behind the south wall which he and his "Tennesseans" had been charged to defend. But the preponderance of the evidence indicates that he died fighting valiantly; and there is a possibility that he was in command of the garrison for a short time before his death. According to the account of Jesse B. Badgett, a member of the Texas convention, published in the *Arkansas Advocate,* April 15, 1836, J. J. Baugh assumed command after the death of Travis; but in a short time he was killed, and then "the command devolved upon Crockett, who likewise soon fell, fighting desperately."[54] The place has been rather definitely fixed by the testimony of Mrs. Dickinson, who was led out of the church by a Mexican officer, and although shot at and wounded, was spared. "As we passed through

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[51] Quoted in Shackford, *David Crockett,* 231.
[52] *Ibid.,* 232.
[53] Lord to Folmsbee, June 16, 1958, *loc. cit.* Mr. Lord's study of the Alamo will be published soon.
[54] Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVII, 43-44n, 176.

the enclosed ground in front of the church," she later reported, "I saw heaps of dead and dying. . . . I recognized Col. Crockett lying dead and mutilated between the church and the two story barrack building, and even remember seeing his peculiar cap lying by his side."[55] Two Negro witnesses, Santa Anna's cook, Ben, and Travis's servant, Joe, and others were reported to have said that Crockett's body was surrounded by Mexican corpses, the number varying in the reports from sixteen to twenty-four. According to Ben, David's knife was buried up to the hilt in the bosom of a Mexican who was found lying across his body.[56]

The reliability of these last reports may be questioned, but the consensus of the contemporary newspaper accounts also gives the impression that he died a hero's death. On March 24, 1836, the *Telegraph, and Texas Register* (San Felipe de Austin) stated:

> The end of David Crockett of Tennessee, the great hunter of the west, was as glorious as his career through life had been useful. He and his companions were found surrounded by piles of assailants, whom they had immolated on the altar of Texas liberties. The countenance of Crockett, was unchanged: he had in death that freshness of hue, which his exercise of pursuing the beasts of the forest and the prairie had imparted to him. Texas places him, exultingly, amongst the martyrs in her cause.[57]

On April 14, 1836, the *Columbia* (Tennessee) *Observer*[58] reprinted from other papers several accounts of the fall of the Alamo. Although these reports contain numerous conflicts as to details, there is considerable agreement regarding Crockett. One of the chief sources of information for most of these stories was the comments of George C. Childress, former editor of the *Nashville Banner*. He claimed to have been present at Washington on the Brazos when Joe, the Negro servant of Colonel Travis, told his story of the Alamo disaster to the Texan authorities. Childress was one of two representatives sent by Texas to

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[55] Morphis, *History of Texas,* 176-77. *Cf.* the somewhat undependable account of Francis Antonio Ruiz, who claimed to have been present when Crockett's body was pointed out to Santa Anna: "to the west [of where Travis fell] and in a small fort opposite the city." Quoted in Williams, "Critical Study," XXXVII, 39-40, citing, *Texas Almanac,* 1860. He may have been confused as to directions and was referring to the inner court or small area between the church and the low barracks, considering it the small fort as distinguished from the large area or plaza.

[56] Tinkle, *13 Days,* 214.

[57] A photostatic copy of this issue, generously contributed to the authors by Walter Lord, New York, N. Y., is in the University of Tennessee Library.

[58] This issue of the *Columbia Observer* is owned by Arthur N. Lawson, Knoxville. Photostatic copies are in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, and the University of Tennessee and Lawson McGhee Libraries, Knoxville.

Washington, D. C., following the declaration of independence of March 2, to appeal for United States recognition.[59] At a meeting in Natchez, Mississippi, on March 31, he was reported to have said that "The gallant Crockett to the last, . . . continued to 'go ahead'—when he fell the corpses of the enemy were literally, piled up around him." The *Memphis Enquirer,* on the basis of the Childress report and other information, said: "Col. Crockett is also among the fallen! it is said he fought with heroic desperation to the last, and was one of the last that perished almost burying himself with his slain."[60] Also reprinted by the *Observer,* from the Jackson, Tennessee, *Truth Teller,* was a letter from Calvin Henderson, Esq. to Joseph W. Chalmers of Jackson, dated Washington, Texas, March 16, 1836. By that letter the Jackson community, which had formerly been represented by Crockett in Congress, was told that David's "bravery . . . his example animated every body," and that he had "certainly [dispatched?] 25 of the enemy during the siege."[61]

On July 9, 1836, David's son, John Wesley Crockett, who was later to represent his father's old district in Congress, wrote his Uncle George Patton of North Carolina:

> You have doubtless seen the account of my father's fall at the Alamo in Texas. He is gone from among us, and is no more to be seen in the walks of men, but in his death like Sampson [Samson], he slew more of his enemies than in all his life. [For] Even his most bitter enemies here, I believe, have buried all animosity, and joined the general lamentation over his untimely end.[62]

The reminiscence of Dr. S. H. Stout supports this last conclusion. He remembered "seeing adult men and women shed tears on account of the death of David Crockett" when the news of the Alamo reached Nashville.[63]

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[59] *Memphis Enquirer* (extra), in *ibid.*

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Ibid.* Also reprinted in the *Observer* was the story in the New Orleans *True American* based on the statements made by the passengers of the *Comanche* steamer, "8 days from Texas." It included: "We regret to say that Col. David Crockett and companion, Mr. Berton and Col. Bonhan [Bonham], of S.C. were among the number slain." As reprinted in *Niles' Register,* April 16, the name of Crockett's companion was given as *"Jesse Benton."* Quoted in Shackford, *David Crockett,* 235. Actually, according to the Memphis paper quoted above, Childress left Jesse Benton, the brother of Thomas H., at Washington, Texas. The lists of the victims at the Alamo do not include any Berton or Benton. James Bonham, of course, was killed in the Alamo, but he was not a member of Crockett's group.

[62] Quoted in Shackford, *David Crockett,* 237. The bracketed "For" is Shackford's.

[63] S. H. Stout, "David Crockett," *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1896-1904), VII (Jan., 1902), 12.

It was mentioned above that some time in 1836 Isaac N. Jones of Prairie Falls, Arkansas, sent David's widow the watch which Crockett had traded to him while on the way to Texas. In his letter Jones wrote:

> His [Crockett's] military career was short. But though I deeply resent his death, I cannot restrain my American smile at the recollection of the fact that he died as a United States soldier should die, covered with his slain enemy, and, even in death presenting to them in his clenched hands, the weapons of their destruction.
>
> We hope that the day is not far distant when his adopted country will be freed from a savage enemy, and afford to yourself and children, a home, rendered in every way comfortable, by the liberal donations of her government.[64]

This hope did materialize, and in 1854 David's widow and some of the children migrated from Tennessee to Texas.[65]

Although years later a Tennessean, Colonel Robert Chester, expressed the opinion, "The fight at the Alamo was a blunder. What did a man shut himself up in a fort, and allow Santa Anna to surround him for? It was downright folly," it must be admitted that the sacrifice made by Crockett and the others contributed immeasurably to the attainment of Texan independence. According to one Texas historian, they performed one of the most successful delaying actions in American military history. By engaging Santa Anna's army for two weeks they had made it possible for General Houston to collect his forces on the San Jacinto River; and the battle cry, "Remember the Alamo," inspired his soldiers to annihilate the Mexican army on April 21, 1836, and obtain from Santa Anna a treaty recognizing Texan independence. Moreover, the massacre at the Alamo brought to a sudden end the apathy of the Texan people which had contributed to the disaster; and the revulsion of feeling throughout the United States sent hordes of Americans into Texas to help Houston win his victory.[66]

Four years later there was published in London a history: *Texas, Its Rise, Progress, and Prospects,* by an Englishman, William Kennedy, who happened to be in Texas at the time of its revolution. He included a perspicacious analysis of David Crockett which as a near contemporary appraisal, made before the legendary "Davy" reached the propor-

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[64] Quoted in Shackford, *David Crockett,* 236.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] H. S. Turner, "Andrew Jackson and David Crockett," *Magazine of American History,* XXVII (May, 1892), 387; Jim Dan Hill, *The Texas Navy* (Chicago, 1937), 47; Shackford, *David Crockett,* 227; Tinkle, *13 Days,* 228; Myers, *The Alamo,* 229, 233.

tions he eventually was to attain, deserves to be rescued from scarce and out-of-print books and made more available to the modern reader:

> Among the slain there was one who, surrounded by a heap of the fallen enemy, displayed even in death the freshness of the hunter's aspect, and whose eccentricities, real or reputed, have familiarized England with his name—David Crockett, of Tennessee, a character such as could only have been produced and perfected within the limits of his own country.
>
> The whole man, physical and mental, was of frontier growth. His playthings from infancy were the axe and the rifle. Few among his youthful companions displayed more activity and strength; none aimed his piece with a steadier hand or truer eye. In the metaphorical eulogy of the western woodsmen, he was more than "a horse,"—he was "a steamboat." During the war of 1812, David took up arms for his country, and fought bravely, though no admirer of parade or drill. After the war, he turned to industrial pursuits, and was a successful hunter and thriving planter. Hospitality kept cheerful watch at his door, and the wayfarer was ever welcome to a plentiful meal, and a glass of "old Monongahela."
>
> The ambition to be politically distinguished, which prevails wherever free institutions are established, is, perhaps, a more active passion in new states than in old. Crockett did not escape the general mania for public life. His conscience told him that he was an honest man, and rumor and the newspapers strangely lied if there were many of the same stamp in the great house at Washington. Reforms were wanting—there was no question of that—but means were essential to an end, and sound reforms demanded clean-handed legislators. David felt that he had a call. He had mastered the "varmint" of the woods—"coon," bear, and panther—and why should he not "use up" the prowlers that preyed upon the commonwealth? The great Tennessee hunter determined to "run for Congress."
>
> The stump of a tree is frequently the rostrum of a western orator; hence the name of "stump speeches" has been given in the States to those morsels of eloquence which are seasoned and sauced exclusively for the popular palate. Possessed of robust health and powerful lungs, backed by never-faltering perseverance, Crockett was a giant on the stump. If poor in classical lore, he was affluent in the figures and phraseology of life in the West. After a long and arduous struggle, he was chosen a member of Congress for Tennessee.
>
> His career as a patriotic legislator disappointed his hopes, and fell far short of his electioneering promises. When he entered Congress he imagined that his prowess as a hunter and a wrestler would inspire his opponents with awe, and enable him to shoulder the state wagon out of the ruts by a few prompt and dexterous heaves; but he found difficulties at Washington which he never contemplated when an aspirant for representative honors. The first thing, he said, that "bothered" him were the Congressional rules and orders, and "what those rascally things were made for he could not reckon, for they did no good." If he happened to damage these rules and orders, and then got in a "fair track," his tongue did not wag so glibly as it used

to do on the stump, and he frequently found himself short of breath and his knees weak when he attempted to harangue the House. He could not understand this, but he found it was so day after day. He often looked round to see if there was any man bigger and stronger than himself to produce this quaking, for, until then, none but a stronger man than himself could shake his nerve. His visions of reform, one after another, vanished, for he could not make the members listen to his reasoning. He began to suspect that he had different work to do than when he used to go "a gunning." Often as he might hit a political wild cat, the "crittur" held out, as if it had nine times the nine lives attributed to grimalkin.

Many an odd saying and grotesque story was fathered on "Colonel Crockett," whose raciness of speech and manners was, however, spoiled by mixing in political society.[67] He lost the wild originality of the frontier, without acquiring the polish or sprightliness of city life. Still, Washington had its attractions, and he was anxious to retain his place in the legislature; but he must have his own way, and would not submit to be trammelled; the consequence of which was that his constituents chose a more pliable candidate.[68] This was a heavy blow to David, who had been for years a "lion," and to whom excitement of some kind was indispensable. Disgusted with politics, and irritated by public ingratitude, military renown acquired fresh attraction in his eyes. At this time Texas had raised the standard of resistance against military usurpation. To the cause of Texan liberty he resolved to devote himself,[69] and, shouldering his rifle, he started for the Sabine, and arrived at Nacogdoches, accompanied by several volunteers, in the commencement of the war. . . . [There follows the story, already given above, about David's refusal to sign the Texas oath until the word "republican" had been inserted.]

Biography is the handmaid of History, and frequently a more agreeable companion than her mistress; I therefore offer no apology for this brief notice to one of "the heroes of the Alamo." Poor David! thy simple uprightness merited a happier end! Yet, to borrow a phrase of thine own coinage, thou didst "go a-head for the fight!" and thy blood was shed upon a holy altar, and from thy smouldering ashes arose a flame which streamed from the San Antonio to the Mississippi and Ohio, lighting up, in many a generous heart, a fire not to be extinguished, so long as those who dishonored thy manly form continued to tread the soil in which their barbarian vindictiveness denied thee and thy gallant comrades the humble privilege of a soldier's grave![70]

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[67] His published *Autobiography,* and other writings, however, though largely ghost-written, still bore the impress of Crockett's character and made an important contribution to American literature in the field of indigenous humor, on a par with that of "Sut Lovingood."

[68] It will be noted that Kennedy makes no reference to the idea that Crockett was used as "tool" by the Whigs. Although that viewpoint has been widely circulated by historians of the "Jacksonian persuasion," the extent of its accuracy may be questioned. One of Crockett's most outstanding characteristics was his independence.

[69] The question may be raised, as has been indicated above, as to whether Texas liberty was very much in his mind when he made the original decision to go to Texas.

[70] Quoted in Morphis, *History of Texas,* 189-94.

Thus ends our story of the David Crockett of history whom we have attempted to separate from the legendary "Davy." The imaginary figure has been publicized out of all proportions in recent years due to the wizardry of Hollywood, and it is time that the real David received more attention.[71] This is particularly true since the reaction to the "fad" of a considerable part of the general public has been to go to the other extreme and conclude that David Crockett was merely an illiterate country bumpkin, a consummate braggart, who made no substantial contribution to history. This is far from true. Although lacking in formal schooling, he acquired a considerable amount of "education" by his own endeavors. He was shrewd and calculating and capitalized on his lack of knowledge to build up his political appeal, as has been done by other clever politicians even in modern times. He was a "stump speaker" of no mean ability, adept at cracking jokes and telling tall tales—exaggerating his notable exploits as a hunter and fighter—to the delight of his rustic hearers and the despair of his opponents.

Both in the state legislature and in Congress he tried earnestly and sincerely to benefit the real interests of his constituents, especially in protecting squatters' rights from the exploitive aims of the speculators. When his fellow Tennesseans refused to support him, he turned to the opposition and was in the vanguard of the revolt against a domineering President Jackson in his own state. He had the fault of being too stubborn and uncompromising, which was a major factor in his ineffectiveness as a congressman. It was his inability to fulfill his promises, as well as Jacksonian opposition, which caused his eventual defeat. He also allowed himself to be placed in a position where he was used by the Whigs to their own advantage. To say that he became their "tool," however, is putting it too strongly. He was much too independent for that. Also, the publicity they gave to his unique character, together with his own publications or pseudo-publications, began the creation of the legendary "Davy" long before he left Congress. By the time he went to Texas he had achieved a great amount of notoriety—his fame had preceded him. To what extent, if at all, his anti-Jackson views led him to oppose Sam Houston is a matter of mere

[71] While Shackford in his *David Crockett* supplied a very helpful corrective, there are numerous deficiencies in this work which became increasingly evident as our own research progressed.

speculation. But it is safe to say that if he had not lost his life in the Alamo, he probably would have achieved his aim of carving out a new political career for himself, as did Houston, on the Texas frontier. As it was, the magic of his name among the victims greatly increased the effectiveness of the slogan "Remember the Alamo" not only in Texas but also throughout much of the United States. David Crockett well deserves remembrance[72] as a symbol of the frontier, a unique but important figure in Tennessee politics, a contributor of note to American humor, and a significant architect of Texan independence.

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[72] The Crockett "fad," however, was not an unmixed evil. During the one year 1958 action was taken regarding the establishment of two state parks in Crockett's honor—one at his birthplace in Greene County and the other at his home in Lawrenceburg (formally opened in April)—and also a replica of the tavern of his father, John Crockett, at David's boyhood home in Morristown was dedicated.

NEW PROVIDENCE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

*The First Hundred Years**

By EDWIN J. BEST

When James Stuart became King of England in 1603 he inherited from his predecessor, Elizabeth, the knotty problem of Ireland—backward, rebellious, and Catholic. It being impracticable to exterminate the Irish, James decided to stabilize them by planting among them a dependable Protestant peasantry. The English were reluctant to undertake the venture alone and the task of colonization fell to the Lowlanders of Scotland, with some help from the Highlanders and the English. Thus was born the Ulster Plantation, and with it a new breed, the Scotch-Irish, "high-principled and narrow, strong and violent, as tenacious of his own rights as he was blind often to the rights of others, acquisitive yet self-sacrificing, but most of all fearless, confident of his own power, determined to have and to hold."[1]

Ulster was no paradise, and from the English point of view the Scotch-Irish were no better than the Irish. Neither group would conform and both appeared to offer economic competition. Harried by law and famine alike, the distressed Scotch-Irish began a second migration. They willingly deported themselves and by 1750 were filling up the wilderness areas of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. They were poor—a century and over in Ireland had filled no pockets. With more courage than cash, they advanced the American frontier in search of freedom and cheap land, free land, or a toleration of squatters.

In spite of royal decrees and determined Indians, the Scotch-Irish spilled over the Unaka Mountains. In increasing numbers they moved into Indian hunting grounds, risking both hair and home for the sake of liberty and land. By the time the American Revolution was over, upper East Tennessee was well populated. The conclusion of hostilities released more migrants to the Southwest, where something approaching

*A paper presented at the monthly meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society in Knoxville on November 2, 1956.

[1]Constance Lindsay Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest* (New Haven, 1919), 5-6. The first chapter of this history gives a good summary of the part played by the Presbyterians in the period of settlement.

a legal boundary between Indians and whites became fixed at the French Broad River, according to the Treaty of Hopewell negotiated by the United States with the Cherokees in 1785. The Treaty of Dumplin Creek signed earlier the same year by the state of Franklin and the Cherokees, however, for a time led to the ignoring of the French Broad boundary and encouraged the settlement of what is now Blount County.[2]

Although Tennessee was a westward extension of North Carolina, most of its early settlers were from Virginia, the reason being that of relative accessibility. The pioneers did not think of themselves as adventurers; they came to stay. And they did not come unsupported. Theodore Roosevelt wrote of them:

> Their preachers, all Presbyterian, followed close behind the first settlers, and . . . tilled their fields rifle in hand, and fought the Indians valorously. They felt that they were dispossessing the Canaanites, and were thus working the Lord's will in preparing the land for a race which they believed was more truly His chosen people than was that nation which Joshua led across the Jordan.[3]

One of the first preachers ever heard in Tennessee was Charles Cummings, a Presbyterian who visited the Holston settlements around 1776.[4] One of the first ministers to settle in Tennessee was Samuel Doak, who moved to Sullivan County in 1778.[5] Both these frontier ministers were from Virginia.

In 1786 another Presbyterian from Virginia became a pioneer in newly-settled country. He followed the Great Indian Warpath for 350 miles and in what is now Blount County, at Craig's Station on Pistol Creek, he founded a church—called New Providence.[6] He was

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[2] Technically, the Treaty of Hopewell line was the old boundary line of 1777, near Greeneville, but the status of settlers north of the French Broad was left indefinite. The Treaty of Dumplin Creek, May 31, 1785, fixed the dividing ridge between Little River and the Tennessee River (now Little Tennessee) as the boundary between whites and Cherokees. This ridge is south and west of Maryville. J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee* (Charleston, 1853), 299, 369; R. G. Downes, "Cherokee-American Relations in the Upper Tennessee Valley, 1776-1791," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 8 (1936), 43.

[3] Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West,* 4 vols. (New York, 1889-1896), I, 169.

[4] Mr. Cummings, pastor of two churches in southwest Virginia, was chaplain to Col. William Christian's expedition against the Cherokees in 1776. Ramsey, *Annals,* 169.

[5] For a sketch of Samuel Doak, who organized Salem Presbyterian Church (1780) and founded Washington College (1784), both in Washington County, Tennessee, see William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit,* 9 vols. (New York, 1857-1859), III, 392-97.

[6] The authority for this statement is Dr. John J. Robinson, *Memoirs of Rev. Isaac Anderson, D.D.* (Knoxville, 1860), 46. He probably had his information from Dr. Anderson, who was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, and attended Liberty Hall Academy where Archibald Scott studied theology.

Archibald Scott, pastor of Bethel and Brown's Church in Augusta County. Archibald Scott came to America from Ireland around 1760 as a boy, poor, friendless, and alone. He was a farm laborer, and for a time he studied as he followed the plough. Later he taught school for his support as a theology student at Liberty Hall Academy in Virginia. Near the Academy was a Presbyterian church called New Providence, which he no doubt attended.

Archibald Scott was ordained in 1778. He served his church and country well, and after a fruitful ministry of twenty-one years, he died as the 18th century was dying.[7] Mr. Scott probably had friends among those who settled Blount County. At least something or someone drew him across the dangerous miles to the western edge of civilization.

The Blount County region was certainly dangerous in 1786. The Treaty of Dumplin Creek never had any legality. The Treaty of Hopewell, a year old when New Providence was organized, held a solemn promise and a stern warning: any white man settling south of the French Broad River forfeited the protection of the United States and could be punished by the Indians as they pleased.[8] To risk punishment by the Indians was to court disaster. Unable to retaliate on the many who had invaded their domain, the Indians took their vengeance on the few. The white family living in isolation lived under the shadow of death. John Craig built his fort within that shadow and New Providence Presbyterian Church was organized within Fort Craig at the site of Maryville, in 1786.[9] Two years later, after the collapse of the state of Franklin, the Indian danger was greatly increased, for the settlers were on land which both the state of North Carolina and the United States recognized as Indian country.

The names of all the charter members of New Providence Church are not known, there being no original records prior to 1840.[10] In the early days the clerk of session kept no more than a roll of the communicants and informal notes of action taken by the session. In this

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[7] Sprague, *Annals,* III, 387-89.

[8] Ramsey, *Annals,* 336-37.

[9] This is the date accepted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. It is supported by local tradition. Will A. McTeer, *History of New Providence Presbyterian Church* (Maryville, 1921), 25.

[10] In this year the session undertook to reconstruct the records of the church, using some original membership lists now lost. Minutes of the Session of New Providence Presbyterian Church, cited hereafter as Session Minutes. The originals are in possession of the church, but there is a photostatic copy of the first volume in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

respect, New Providence is no different from other early Presbyterian churches in Tennessee. Not one of them showed any enthusiasm for record keeping, despite the exhortations of the presbyteries.[11] In 1816 Union Presbytery called for the session books for review and received none. The clerk related sadly: "it appeared that not one session had sent their book; and few had any such book of records. . . ."[12]

In 1840 the session of New Providence, relying on old memories, recalled the names of seventeen charter members. They included the now familiar families of Blount County: McNutt, Wear, Hannah, McCulloch, Houston, Frow, Duncan, Wallace, and Gillespie. Among the earliest elders were Arthur Beatty, Robert McNutt, Samuel Thompson, Thomas Hunter, William Gillespie, Joseph Tedford, and Joseph Hart. Mr. Hart, the first known clerk, who served until 1820,[13] was a veteran of the American Revolution.

The name "New Providence" came to its founders naturally, reminding them of earlier times in Virginia.[14] It is not now nor was it then an uncommon name. Even in East Tennessee another New Providence and a Providence Church antedate the one established at Fort Craig.[15]

The first years of New Providence are unwritten history. The greatest concern of its members was the principal objective of frontiersmen everywhere, to hold on and stay alive. On the frontier history was made, not written. Within two years after New Providence was founded, the Indians overwhelmed Gillespie's Station nearby, killing twenty-eight people, mostly women and children.[16] Holding on and keeping alive under such circumstances was not an easy matter.

Who preached at New Providence in those first few years no one knows. A minister named William Cummings visited the area on at

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[11] Union Presbytery on June 9, 1813, recommended that each session keep adequate records. On April 12, 1814, several sessions asked for instructions on keeping records. Minutes of the Presbytery of Union for dates cited. Hereafter cited as Union Presbytery Minutes. The originals are in the vault of Maryville College, Maryville, Tenn., and typewritten and microfilm copies (to 1887) in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library.

[12] *Ibid.*, April 19, 1816.

[13] Session Minutes, *passim*. Joseph Hart is known to have been the clerk in 1811. See also McTeer, *New Providence Church*, 53-55.

[14] Many of the early settlers of the Blount County region were from Rockbridge County, Virginia, and some were members of New Providence Presbyterian Church there.

[15] New Providence in Hawkins County was founded in 1780 and Providence in Greene County in 1784.

[16] On October 17, 1788. Ramsey, *Annals*, 518.

least one occasion. He united Joseph Tedford and Mary McNutt in marriage at Fort Craig.[17] There was no meetinghouse at the fort in those days.

In 1792 a lanky, blue-eyed youth of twenty arrived at Fort Craig with a party of soldiers. He, unlike the rest of the company to which he was informally attached, was equipped for double warfare. Besides his rifle, he carried a Bible and hymn book. He was Gideon Blackburn, a licensed preacher. Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Blackburn became pastor of Eusebia and New Providence churches. Two years later he was ordained.[18]

New Providence's first church building was built early in the pastorate of Mr. Blackburn. The earliest available reference to it is found in the diary of a Moravian missionary, who wrote of a visit to Maryville in 1799: "It consists of 20, mostly good, frame houses. At the end of the place there is quite a large church, built of hewn logs. . . ."[19] That was the New Providence meetinghouse. Union Presbytery met in this log church in 1801.[20]

The building stood at the corner of Broadway and Cates streets—the old cemetery lot. Although the congregation had occupied it for years, legal title was not obtained until 1812.[21]

The frontier was in an uneasy state when the first meetinghouse was built. Although by the Treaty of Holston of 1791 the Cherokee had given up their claim to the Blount County region, they refused to abide by the treaty for several years. At about this time 280 people were living in Fort Craig in great discomfort, driven from their outlying farms by Indians. Early in 1793 John Pates was killed and scalped on Crooked Creek. In raids of savage retaliation the whites carried a similar brutality to the Indians. Expeditions into the Indian country led by General John Sevier in 1793 and by Major James Ore in 1794 finally led to peace. Someone must be the last of his kind. It

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[17] Samuel Tyndale Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson Lamar* (Maryville, 1920), 78.

[18] V. M. Queener, "Gideon Blackburn," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 6 (1934), 12-28; Sprague, *Annals*, IV, 43-58.

[19] "Report of the Journey of the Brethren Abraham Steiner and Frederick C. De Schweinitz to the Cherokees and the Cumberland Settlements (1799)," Samuel Cole Williams (ed.), *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City, 1928), 462. The brethren had noted earlier (*ibid.*, 454) that nearby Knoxville had no church building.

[20] Union Presbytery Minutes, March 17, 1801.

[21] On June 19, 1812, by grant No. 2332, state of Tennessee. McTeer, *New Providence Church*, 80.

was the sad fate of John Ish to be the last white man scalped in the area. On July 24, 1794, John Ish was killed at his plough, leaving behind a wife and eleven children. And with his death the familiar warwhoop became an echo.[22]

Meanwhile, governmental institutions were being developed. In 1790 the Territory South of the River Ohio was organized with William Blount as its governor. Knoxville became its capital, and Knox County, created in 1792, included what is now Blount County. In 1795 the territorial legislature created Blount County and the town of Maryville, the first named for the governor, the second for his wife. At that time Blount County had a population of 2,816 whites in about 500 families. In 1796 the state of Tennessee was established.[23]

According to the minutes of the General Assembly for 1797, New Providence congregation included sixty families. If Eusebia and Bakers Creek, the only other churches of any denomination, served each as many families, less than a third of Blount County people were affiliated with a church.[24]

Gideon Blackburn was busily involved in changing these statistics. Before he was twenty-five he was pastor of two churches, local schoolmaster, unofficial chaplain to frontier military posts, and member of the boards of trustees of Greeneville and Washington colleges. In his report for 1800 Mr. Blackburn said he had preached regularly at New Providence, instituted a monthly lecture for children, attended a religious society every other Wednesday, administered the sacrament, and had almost completed a general catechizing.[25] The congregation did not do as well. The session reported considerable arrearages in Mr. Blackburn's salary which were not settled until 1804.[26]

Mr. Blackburn's interests went beyond his white charges. He was deeply concerned for the welfare of the Indians also. In 1803 the General Assembly commissioned him a missionary to the Cherokees, the first missionary ever commissioned by the Presbyterian Church in this

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[22] For accounts of the closing struggle between the whites and Indians in East Tennessee, see Ramsey, *Annals, passim,* and Clarence Edwin Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States,* IV, *The Territory South of the River Ohio* (Washington, 1936), 251, 261-64, 275-78, 290, 311, 364-65.

[23] *Ibid.,* 404; Pollyanna Creekmore (comp.), "Early East Tennessee Taxpayers: II. Blount County," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 24 (1952), 129-30.

[24] McTeer, *New Providence Church,* 28. Eusebia was founded in 1786, Bakers Creek in 1796.

[25] Union Presbytery Minutes, March 18, 1801.

[26] *Ibid.,* April 20, 1802, September 17, 1804.

country. This pioneer missionary worked among the Indians for six years with great success.[27]

In this work Mr. Blackburn's devotion was almost equalled by his shrewdness. He had a most practical solution to the problem of keeping little Indians in school. Any child returning to his home had to forfeit the clothing furnished to him by the school. Gideon Blackburn was also a crafty quartermaster. To obtain needed blankets, he enrolled his young charges as adult Indians. An adult Indian was entitled to a free blanket from the government; a child was not.

Gideon Blackburn's success among the Indians can probably be measured best by a reaction of John Sevier, the old Indian fighter. In 1805 Mr. Blackburn's students attended a treaty meeting. There, wearing homespun cotton clothing made for them by the ladies of New Providence, they recited for Governor Sevier and sang a hymn. The tears rolled down John Sevier's cheeks as he said to Mr. Blackburn:

> I have often stood unmoved amidst showers of bullets from the Indian rifles; but this effectually unmans me. I see civilization taking the ground of barbarism, and the praises of Jesus succeeding to the warwhoop of the savage.[28]

Gideon Blackburn, the General Assembly's first commissioned missionary, was privileged to train the second Negro missionary of the Presbyterian Church. That man was John Gloucester, an emancipated Blount County slave who was ordained by Union Presbytery in 1810 and sent as a missionary to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.[29]

Gideon Blackburn left New Providence in 1810 because of impaired health. Subsequently he founded Harpeth Academy at Franklin, Tennessee, organized and served five Middle Tennessee churches, served churches in Kentucky, was president of Centre College, traveling agent for the Kentucky Temperance Society, and financial agent for Illinois College. To round out his useful life, he laid the foundation for Blackburn College in Illinois. What this accomplished man would have done had his health been good no one can say.[30]

Replacing a man of Gideon Blackburn's zeal and ability may have been difficult, but as New Providence showed, it was not impossible.

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[27] Clifford M. Drury, *Presbyterian Panorama* (Philadelphia, 1952), 25 ff.
[28] This and the preceding paragraph are summarized from Queener, "Gideon Blackburn," 18-21.
[29] Union Presbytery Minutes, October 28, 1806—October 9, 1810, *passim*.
[30] Queener, "Gideon Blackburn," *passim*.

In 1812 Isaac Anderson, the young pastor of Washington and Lebanon churches in Knox County, was called to New Providence.[31]

Isaac Anderson was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1780. When he was turning twenty-one, he moved to Knox County, Tennessee, and in 1802 became the first minister ordained by Union Presbytery.[32] When Isaac Anderson came to New Providence, it was the largest Presbyterian church in the whole region, numbering 209.[33] Joseph Hart was clerk of session. The other members of the session were probably John Hannah, Thomas Hunter, and Samuel Thompson.[34]

The congregation still met in the log church. Its number belied its financial resources. Blount County was poor, and money was everywhere scarce in those days. Dr. Anderson—to refer to him by his later title—was promised $400 a year but the congregation was not always prompt in payment. One year, for instance, a balance of $96.50 2/3 was left outstanding and, in the face of mounting deficits, the congregegation once paid three times as much on back salary as it did on the current obligation.[35] Dr. Anderson was not only a good man. He was a very patient man.

But to the credit of the congregation, it should be noted that pastors often received produce instead of cash. What Dr. Anderson received in corn, hides, and wool we do not know.

As a preacher, Isaac Anderson had few equals. He was in great demand for camp meetings, revivals, and sacramental meetings all over East Tennessee, delivering over 200 sermons in a year. In 1835 he preached in New Providence seventy-three times and conducted fifty-five prayer meetings.[36] Like his predecessor, he preached from notes, not from a manuscript.

Dr. Anderson was a great pastor. He felt a deep responsibility for his congregation, visiting regularly in each home, praying with the family, and catechizing its members. He used the local paper to reach

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[31] Union Presbytery Minutes, April 13, 1812.

[32] Biographies of Isaac Anderson have been written by John J. Robinson, cited above, and Samuel Tyndale Wilson, *Isaac Anderson Memorial* (Maryville, 1932). See also McTeer, *New Providence Church,* and Samuel Tyndale Wilson, *Chronicles of Maryville College* (Maryville, 1935).

[33] McTeer, *New Providence Church,* 60-61.

[34] As determined from Session Minutes and Union Presbytery Minutes.

[35] Union Presbytery Minutes, *passim.*

[36] *Ibid.,* April 8, 1835.

his scattered flock. A December, 1836, issue of the Maryville *Intelligencer* announced:

> On the first page of today's paper will be found a list of questions and answers in proof of the authenticity and genuineness of the Scriptures, prepared by the pastor of New Providence Church. . . . As these questions and answers are to be sufficiently studied by the members of New Providence Church to enable them to bear an examination, we would suggest the propriety of preserving with great care the numbers of the paper in which they are contained.[37]

Dr. Anderson was a pioneer in Christian education extension work.

New Providence's second pastor was a great educator in other respects. He taught school in Maryville—in his own home, in Porter Academy, and in the seminary and college he founded. The story of his founding the Southern and Western Theological Seminary, which became Maryville College, is a long but not a separate history.[38]

Isaac Anderson was simultaneously president and faculty of the Seminary, pastor of New Providence, pastor of Second Church in Knoxville, unsalaried superintendent of the Synod of Tennessee, and the main pillar of Union Presbytery which he served as stated clerk for eleven years and as treasurer for thirty-one. He founded nine churches. He was secretary of the East Tennessee Missionary Society, a member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and a worker in the local causes of manumission and temperance. In his spare time he farmed.[39]

When Dr. Anderson came to New Providence in 1812 the congregation numbered 209. In 1827 there were 467 members. Only twelve Presbyterian congregations in the United States were larger. In 1834 New Providence members totaled 708 and its Sabbath schools had an enrollment of 558.[40]

Membership figures are themselves inadequate to describe the life of New Providence. For one thing they show only effects. Causes must be sought elsewhere. Figures alone cannot identify moving forces nor can they disclose the frustrations and the divisive influences that sometimes prey upon a congregation.

During the years from 1812 to 1860 there was a considerable fluctuation in membership. The further West was opening up, and the

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[37] Wilson, *Isaac Anderson*, 47. This memoir is the source of much of the biographical data on Dr. Anderson contained in this article.

[38] This history is well covered by Wilson, *Maryville College*.

[39] Wilson, *Isaac Anderson, passim*.

[40] McTeer, *New Providence Church*, 60-61, 87.

movement of Blount Countians to North Alabama, West Tennessee, Missouri, and Texas was pronounced.

In the mid-1830's New Providence, with other churches in the nation, was shaken by the anti-Masonry disturbance. So great was the opposition to the Masonic Order for a while that Union Presbytery forbade its members to belong to the society, and two members of New Providence were defeated for elder on the sole ground that they were Masons.[41] Some members of the congregation withdrew in consequence.

Then there was a dispute over the communion wine. Dr. Anderson, a strong temperance man, used unfermented raisin juice in administering the sacrament, which some members of the congregation found objectionable because the concoction resembled cider. A pro-wine group withdrew.[42] People took their religion seriously then.

Others became embittered over politics and left the church because Whigs and Democrats differed on matters of national policy.[43] A happier reason for changes in membership was the organization of other Presbyterian churches in Blount County. Clover Hill, Louisville, Rockford, and Forest Hill churches—organized between 1841 and 1857—were made up largely from New Providence people.

During Dr. Anderson's pastorate the congregation outgrew the log church and replaced it on the same lot with a commodious stone structure 60 feet wide and 101 feet long. This was around 1829. The new building had a high pulpit, backed by a sounding board. A lower platform served the liner of hymns. The pews, equipped with high sides and doors, were rented to raise the pastor's salary. The front pews were the cheapest.[44] Offerings were taken to cover the miscellaneous and benevolence expenses of the church.[45]

A gallery occupied three sides of the sanctuary. The colored members of New Providence—mostly slaves of its white members—had seats on the balcony.[46] One of these Negro members—trained for the ministry by Dr. Anderson—became a missionary to Liberia.[47] In 1860

[41] Union Presbytery Minutes, September 29, 1834; Alexander Bartlett, *The History of New Providence Presbyterian Church* (Maryville, 1876), 6.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] *Ibid.*; McTeer, *New Providence Church*, 66-67.
[45] *Ibid.*, 58.
[46] *Ibid.*, 66.
[47] The Reverend George Erskine, who was emancipated in 1815 and ordained in 1820, went to Liberia in 1830, where he died before the end of the year. Minutes of the Blount County Court (Courthouse, Maryville), February 9, 1815; Union Presbytery

the colored members of New Providence comprised fifteen percent of the total.[48]

The heating system of the stone church was simple. A charcoal fire burned on an open clay hearth in the center of the room on cold days. A homemade chandelier provided light.

And what did the town of Maryville look like when the old stone church was built? The *Tennessee Gazeteer* for 1834 gives a pretty clear description of a country village perched on a high, narrow ridge, bounded on three sides by Pistol Creek, at that time confined by three mill dams. There were 600 people in Maryville.

Five stores comprised the business district. The industrial life of the community lay in a cotton gin, a carding mill, three grist mills, and a printing office where the Reverend Darius Hoyt published a religious newspaper. Among the artisans were shoemakers, saddlers, and silversmiths; tanners, tailors, and a turner. Four lawyers and three doctors represented the professions. The Theological Seminary had three professors, twenty-two students, and a library of 5,500 volumes. And there were two taverns.

Offsetting the pernicious influence of the taverns were the courthouse, jail, and three churches. By 1830 the Methodists and Baptists were helping the Presbyterians provide a religious life for Maryville. The great stone church of New Providence was the only monumental structure in the village.[49]

The congregation never outgrew the stone church, which could accommodate 1,500 people, closely packed. A change in style led to its removal. Around 1852[50] the fine old building was torn down and a brick building of poor design, defective materials, and careless workmanship replaced it. The stones of the old church were put into a retaining wall around the churchyard.

It was in the old stone church that Isaac Anderson reached the peak of his powers as a minister. Then around 1850 Dr. Anderson's great strength began to fail. A local paralysis seized him, limiting his

Minutes, September 24, 1821, October 13, 1828; *Missionary Herald* (Boston), XXVII (1831), 23.

[48] White members totaled 188 and colored members 28. Union Presbytery Minutes, April 14, 1860.

[49] Eastin Morris, *The Tennessee Gazetteer or Topographical Dictionary* (Nashville, 1834), 96.

[50] In 1852 the congregation voted to sell some four acres of land used for a hitching lot to raise money "for building the meetinghouse." Session Minutes, May 28, 1853.

activities severely. For several years he had to preach from his chair. A rapid decline of mental powers followed his physical collapse. Although almost helpless himself, he did not neglect those more helpless than he. His final sermon was delivered in the home of Mrs. Mary Tedford, who was too feeble to attend church. She had heard his first sermon as pastor of New Providence; she also heard his last.[51]

There remained one more blow to be delivered against Isaac Anderson, who had withstood so much. It came as a fire in the dead of night in 1856. Rebecca Anderson awoke to the crackle of flame and the smell of smoke. With her brother she dragged her bewildered and helpless grandfather from his burning home. And the old man sat in a chair in the firelit street and murmured: "My library is burned up."

On January 28, 1857, Isaac Anderson died. He was buried by the south wall of New Providence Church, as near as possible to the place where the pulpit of the old stone church had stood. His congregation and his friends joined to raise a monument over his grave, "not," as they said, "because they fear they will forget, but because they love to remember him."[52]

Dr. Anderson's physical and mental decline was accompanied by and contributed to a diminishing activity by the New Providence congregation. Beginning in 1854 membership fell from 303 (in 1853) to 281, to 271 in 1855, to 228 in 1856. The year of Anderson's death saw the membership drop to 120.[53] For about two years before his death Dr. Anderson was unable to preach or to minister to his congregation. The session, not under a rotary system, was also growing old. Andrew Early, who became clerk around 1820 and served in that office for forty years, was a veteran of the War of 1812 and was 72 years old. Other elders matched him in age.

The message which the advancing years brought to an aging New Providence was plain: revive or perish. New life demanded a new pastor. But herein was a dilemma: could Christian conscience permit the people of New Providence to turn out a servant of forty-four years? The moral obligation to stand by an ailing and infirm pastor was clear.

The solution to the problem lay in the creation of a collegiate church, one served by two pastors of equal status. On September 19,

[51] Wilson, *Isaac Anderson,* 110.
[52] *Ibid.,* 111-14.
[53] McTeer, *New Providence Church,* 60, gives these statistics without comment.

1856, New Providence called Mr. Fielding Pope to be co-pastor with Dr. Anderson at a salary of $600 a year. On September 21 Mr. Pope was installed, and upon Dr. Anderson's death four months later he automatically became full pastor, the third for New Providence.

Fielding Pope was Virginia-born and Kentucky-bred, polished and courtly. In 1856 he was 55 years old. A man of commanding physique, a good scholar, and a great orator, he was a graduate of the Southern and Western Theological Seminary, where he served as professor for seventeen years. When called to New Providence he was principal of the East Tennessee Masonic Female Institute in Maryville, stated supply of Eusebia Church, and a prosperous farmer. His ministry in New Providence was soon felt; during his first three years eighty members were added to the church.[54] And then came catastrophe: the American Civil War.

All war is cruel and civil war is the worst of wars. The bitterness among strangers is never as intense as the bitterness of erstwhile friends. The effect of the War Between the States on East Tennessee was ample proof of this. The North could support its cause and the deep South could rally to its banners. But East Tennessee, divided between North and South, had no single cause and no single banner. While its sentiments lay largely with the Union, its leadership was southern in background and outlook.

Blount County voted against secession 4 to 1, but secession came and hard on its heels came civil war. Old families turned upon each other. Suspicion poisoned the minds of all and distrust and confusion were everywhere. During this sad period Blount County changed governments twice under the fortunes of war. Maryville College closed its doors and New Providence led an uncertain existence.

The churches of East Tennessee, so badly needed to promote love and understanding, generally failed. Partisan politics overwhelmed Christian charity. In the main the ministers and elders in Union Presbytery were pro-South, while their congregations were for the greater part pro-North.

Fielding Pope was a slaveowner and one of Union Presbytery's

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[54] Union Presbytery Minutes, September 19, 20, 21, 1856; Wilson, *Maryville College,* 76-77; McTeer, *New Providence Church,* 44-46.

most active supporters of the institution of slavery.[55] The pathetic close of his career can hardly be separated from the Presbytery's Civil War history. The records of New Providence covering Mr. Pope's pastorate are lost; they can be reconstructed only in part from other sources.

For Union Presbytery, secession was an old thing by 1861. In 1857 it withdrew from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (New School) in protest against the General Assembly's stand on the issue of slavery. After withdrawing from the General Assembly, Union Presbytery voted to send Fielding Pope to a convention to organize a Southern Presbyterian Church.[56] The convention held in Richmond voted to create the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church. The new synod was organized in Knoxville on April 1, 1858.[57]

Within a year after Union Presbytery acted to uphold slavery, it took note of another weighty matter of morals. It approved the disciplining of two elders who made and sold whiskey, euphemistically called trafficking in "licensed groceries."[58] Here was a delicate exercise in ethics, to be able so neatly to distinguish between the morality of traffic in human beings and traffic in whiskey, finding one right and the other wrong.

New Providence did not prosper during the war. Reported membership for 1861, 1862, and 1863 was 200 for each year, a round number with all the characteristics of a guess on the high side.[59] The fact of the matter is that the congregation of New Providence was falling to ruin, just as its building was falling to dilapidation. This building, the third, was of poor material, poorly constructed, and was never completed. Unplastered and without ceiling, it was made to do. The basement, dark and dank, housed the Sabbath School, but little attended.[60]

Union Presbytery went on, engrossed in religion and politics alike. In May, 1863, the tide of the Confederacy ran high and the pulse of Union Presbytery quickened. General Robert E. Lee was on the offensive in Virginia; Braxton Bragg was showing strength in Tennessee.

[55] He owned twenty-three slaves in 1860. Eighth Census, Blount County, Tennessee, individual returns, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[56] Union Presbytery Minutes, July 15, 1857.

[57] Joseph M. Wilson, *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church* (Philadelphia, 1859), 143.

[58] Union Presbytery Minutes, March 27, 1858.

[59] *Ibid.*, statistical reports for the years cited.

[60] McTeer, *New Providence Church*, 68.

The Confederate hold on East Tennessee seemed firm. No doubt emboldened by these circumstances and heartened by a large Confederate force in the environs of Knoxville, Union Presbytery met in New Market to take an action that began the downfall of Mr. Pope, who in 1863 was moderator of the United Synod.

Dr. J. J. Robinson, second president of Maryville College, superintendent of New Providence Sabbath School, and Confederate chaplain, opened the spring session of Presbytery with a sermon on a text both admonitory and prophetic: "From such withdraw thyself." With Pope as moderator, Presbytery proceeded to tie church to state:

> Resolved that this Presbytery will neither license, nor ordain, nor receive from another Presbytery, any man, who does not sympathize with the South in her present struggle for independence, or who holds that slaveholding is sinful and ought to be abolished.[61]

On the following day, Presbytery deplored the political differences which disturbed the church and distracted its members: "Men, it seems, are willing to sacrifice the church and her privileges, and abandon the service of the God of Heaven for mere political considerations."[62] Having directed this sentiment against Yankees and their fellow travelers, Presbytery adjourned to meet no more for sixteen months.[63]

In the meantime, Gettysburg was fought and Vicksburg fell. Knoxville and Chattanooga were lost, and Longstreet, following a bloody repulse at Knoxville, abandoned East Tennessee. The high tide of the Confederacy receded, and the area represented by Union Presbytery fell into Union hands.

From the debris left by a long war, four institutions all but destroyed by it began to emerge. They were the Synod of Tennessee, Union Presbytery, New Providence Church, and Maryville College. All four were given new life through the faith and energy of one man—Thomas Jefferson Lamar.[64]

On September 2, 1864, in the absence of its southern wing, Union Presbytery, under the leadership of Mr. Lamar, nullified the New Market loyalty oath and severed all connection with the United Synod, which by that time had joined with the Presbyterian Church, CSA.[65]

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[61] Union Presbytery Minutes, May 1, 1863.
[62] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1863.
[63] At Spring Place Church, Knox County, on September 2, 1864.
[64] Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson Lamar,* is the only extensive biography.
[65] Union Presbytery Minutes, September 2, 1864.

In May, 1865, the General Assembly instructed presbyteries to drop from membership all ministers "known to be disloyal to the government of the United States." The course before Union Presbytery was plain. "Keeping in mind that poor fallen human nature is liable to err," it set out to purge three-fourths of its members. Of those who were responsible for the New Market loyalty oath, only two escaped the penalty it brought, one by repentence, the other by death. The Presbytery minutes read:

> Resolved that the names of F. Pope, J. J. Robinson, J. M. Caldwell, C. C. Newman, J. H. Alexander, J. Hood, and Jos. H. Martin be dropped from the rolls till they give evidence of repentence for complicity in rebellion.[66]

The spiritual condition of New Providence Church at the conclusion of the Civil War may be deduced from this graphic appraisal of the state of religion within the bounds of Union Presbytery:

> The church in East Tenn. has for years been very much in the condition of Ezekiels valley of vision, that is to say, so far as indications of religious life are concerned, a valley of dry bones.[67]

In temporalities, New Providence could certainly have been no better off than Union Presbytery. In 1866 the treasurer of Presbytery reported a balance of $507.60, of which $499.95 was in Confederate money.[68] How much worthless currency New Providence had is not known. In 1864 the congregation did not pay its presbyterial tax or presbyterial assessments, not even in Confederate money.[69]

On August 30, 1865, fifty members of New Providence assembled to reorganize the congregation. John P. Hooke, Moses Elliott, and William A. Walker were the lay leaders, acting under the counsel of Thomas Jefferson Lamar and John Sawyers Craig. Not one of the old session remained. Some had died, some had moved, and others for their part in the rebellion had lost their privileges.

The Reverend John Sawyers Craig, of the Presbytery of Indianapolis, a graduate and former professor of Maryville College with family ties in New Providence, was moderator of the organization meeting. John P. Hooke and Moses Elliott were elected and ordained as elders. Mr. Hooke was elected clerk, a position he held for twenty-

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[66] *Ibid.*, September 29, 1865.
[67] *Ibid.*, April 7, 1865.
[68] *Ibid.*, April 20, 1866.
[69] *Ibid.*

four years. The fourth Sunday in September, 1865, was designated for a sacramental meeting.[70]

On April 23, 1866, the congregation petitioned Union Presbytery to dissolve the pastoral relationship with Mr. Pope, and this was done.[71] For the first time since 1812, New Providence was without a regular pastor. Twenty-five years would pass before it had another.

The period of the reconstruction of New Providence was the most trying of its long history. The estrangements and bitterness of the war remained as surely as the physical ruins it left. The financial condition of the community was depressed. Life savings had been lost and the economic sinews of the area were weak. The business portion of Maryville had been burned during a cavalry raid. The farms of the county were neglected and unproductive, many of them all but abandoned. The New Providence meetinghouse was a moldering shell, hardly usable. And more than an air of decay hung over the building. A debt of $2,500 hung over it too.[72]

New Providence was not alone in its physical desolation. But a short way down the street was another ruin, the wreckage of Maryville College. The original seminary building had disappeared during the war; the main building was without window frames and doors. Indeed, the real property of the college had been sold under the sheriff's hammer in 1864. Faculty and students alike had scattered and the small endowment had shrunk by two-thirds.[73]

New Providence and Maryville College had walked the long road from 1819 to 1861 together. Together they were engulfed by war. And now, broken in everything but spirit and poor in all but hope, they faced together what seemed to be a hopeless future. Helping one another, they began their tasks of rebuilding and together church and college worked twin miracles of faith and devotion.

A pressing need for New Providence was the service of a regular pastor but because of lack of resources securing one was out of the question. From 1865 until 1891 the church was served by stated and transient supplies. The first was the Reverend P. Mason Bartlett, who later became president of Maryville College. Not until late in 1870 did

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[70] The original minutes of the meeting have been lost. However, they are reprinted in Bartlett, *New Providence Church*. 9.

[71] Union Presbytery Minutes, April 23, 1866.

[72] Bartlett, *New Providence Church*, 9.

[73] Wilson, *Maryville College*, 115-18.

the church have a preacher who stayed longer than a year. In that year the Reverend Alexander Bartlett became stated supply and served for six years. When Bartlett left New Providence its membership was 156, more than triple the 1865 congregation. Alexander Bartlett was a professor at Maryville College and a brother of its president. For years after the Civil War, New Providence was unable to raise a pastor's salary. Professor Bartlett was promised $300 a year, no more than half of which was ever raised. The Reverend Donald McDonald, the stated supply from 1880 to 1888, served for $600 a year, about a third of which was paid by the Board of Home Missions.[74]

A second need was a usable building. Replacing the old building was a dream beyond the congregation's reach. There was nothing left but to patch it with the means available. While it was being repaired, the congregation met in the College Chapel, itself one room of a most dilapidated structure. The debt on the church building was paid in time, the congregation raising $1,700 to which the Board of Church Erection added $800.[75]

Although the Civil War was over, its cause and its product—dissension and division—came back unbidden, like Banquo's restless ghost. In May, 1871, a congregation affiliated with the Presbyterian Church U.S. was organized in Maryville. Of the twenty-four charter members, eleven were disaffected members of New Providence, inactive since 1865. In this case New Providence and the new congregation, whatever their differences, showed a true fraternal spirit. At the invitation of New Providence the new group was organized in the old brick church.[76] During this postwar period a Presbyterian church for Negroes was organized in Maryville, its members likewise coming in part from New Providence.[77]

A quick look at Maryville around 1870 shows a country town not greatly advanced from its position of thirty-five years before. There were some 800 people in town, 14,000 in the county.[78] One advance at

[74] McTeer, *New Providence Church, passim.*

[75] Bartlett, *New Providence Church,* 9-10.

[76] Records of Maryville Presbyterian Church (in possession of New Providence Presbyterian Church), congregation meetings of May 5, 6, 1871, and January 16, 1872.

[77] J. E. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Synod of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1890), 153.

[78] Ninth Census, Blount County, Tenn., individual returns, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

least had been made. On August 3, 1868, the cars of the first scheduled run of the Knoxville and Charleston Railway pulled into town.[79] There was a new factory, a woolen mill. Rockford had a cotton factory employing sixty hands and running 1,600 spindles. The Maryville *Republican* was being published weekly. Improved farmland was selling at from $3.00 to $25.00 an acre in the county. Montvale Springs Hotel was charging $30 a month for room and board.[80] In 1879 Maryville surrendered its city charter in order to be able to outlaw the sale of intoxicants.[81]

Recovery from the Civil War was a slow process for Maryville and a painfully slow one for New Providence. Not until 1887 did the membership rise to above 200. But here again figures are inconclusive. During that 22-year period of slow growth, New Providence was beginning to supply mission posts around the world. The first family to go were the Alexanders, who served in Japan many years. The Lyman Tedfords went to India, Miss Cora Bartlett to Persia. And in increasing numbers others went out, all in the spirit of Scott, Blackburn, and Erskine.

During this same period the congregation experimented with church organization. As has been noted, New Providence had only a session. The administration of all spiritual and temporal affairs was in its hands. Its principal role was disciplinary. It policed the conduct of the congregation, trying the members for everything from the offense of malicious gossip to that of embezzling funds from the Masonic Lodge. The system of church financial support was so uncertain in the hands of the session that in 1855 Union Presbytery in strong terms recommended the establishment of a board of deacons.[82] With its customary caution, New Providence delayed positive action for eighteen years. In 1873 the first board of deacons was chosen.[83] In 1875 the congregation decided to try the rotary system of filling church offices, only to abandon it in 1881.[84]

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[79] *Knoxville Press and Herald,* August 4, 1868.

[80] J. B. Killebrew, *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1874), 460-64.

[81] *Inventory of the County Archives of Tennessee, No. 5. Blount County* (Nashville, 1941), 10; Joseph C. Battaglia, The Social and Economic History of Maryville since 1890 (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1936), 7-8.

[82] Union Presbytery Minutes, March 30, 1855.

[83] McTeer, *New Providence Church,* 57.

[84] Session Minutes, December 10, 1881.

A system of raising funds for operating expenses through regular contributions was instituted, and the now familiar envelopes came into use over the protests of many members of the congregation.[85]

A new personality emerged during these years—Major Will A. McTeer. Elected to the session in 1872, he was an elder for fifty-three years. In 1879 he became superintendent of the Sunday School, a position he held without a break for thirty years. For twenty-eight straight years he was church treasurer. He was a member of the church building committee and upon incorporation of the church in 1883, a member of the board of trustees.[86]

Another change in Maryville is significant in the history of New Providence. In the spring of 1870 one wall of the devastated college building collapsed in a resounding crash. In 1871 three handsome buildings crowned College Hill, and the old Seminary lot at the corner of Broadway and College streets was vacant.[87]

Down the street New Providence began to look beyond its inadequate walls. In 1882 a building fund was started, a gigantic undertaking for the time by a congregation of such limited financial resources.[88] In those days the congregation was making such decisions as whether to purchase new hymnals at $1.00 each or damaged ones for 75 cents.[89] Major McTeer, in his treasurer's report for 1888, said:

> The Treasurer will now remind the members and call [to] their attention several paines of broken glass in the windows, which are excellent for ventilation. . . . If it is thought best, we can continue to ventilate, but if it is thought best to put . . . new glass into old windows the first requisite is something with which to do it.[90]

But out of its small resources, New Providence was still able to give. Besides its modest support of home and foreign missions and contributions to the American Bible Society, it built a chapel at Eagleton in 1889 to provide a religious center there. It was called Hart's Chapel, and permission was given by the session for its use as a day school.[91]

The building fund grew slowly. The Reverend Donald McDonald, stated supply, gave the enterprise his hearty support. Readings, recitals, and other entertainments were sponsored to earn money. For example,

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[85] McTeer, *New Providence Church*, 59.
[86] *Ibid., passim.*
[87] Wilson, *Maryville College*, 126.
[88] Session Minutes, September 24, 1882.
[89] *Ibid.*, August 18, 1889.
[90] *Ibid.*, December 19, 1888.
[91] *Ibid., passim.*

a lady elocutionist was once imported from Rogersville for a fund-raising recital.[92]

In 1886, with $4,000 in hand or in sight, the congregation appointed a building committee, with Major Ben Cunningham chairman.[93] An early action was the purchase of the old college campus for $1,000, the only other consideration being that the faculty and students should have free seats in the new church.

Because of the close relationship of the church and the college, Mrs. Mary Thaw of Pittsburgh contributed $2,000 to the building fund and the Board of Church Erection gave a like amount. With this generous assistance, New Providence was encouraged to move forward.[94]

On July 9, 1890, the cornerstone of the fourth building was laid. The choir, under the direction of Thomas R. Brown, sang a hymn, and the Reverend Claudius B. Lord delivered an address.[95]

The year 1891 was eventful also. In that year the congregation called its fourth pastor, Frank E. Moore, who for a year had served as stated supply. What Mr. Moore meant to New Providence as pastor and preacher is testified to by an increase in membership from 201 in 1890 to 289 in 1892.[96]

On October 9, 1892, the new building—completed after more than two years of interrupted work at a cost of $14,211.76—was dedicated.[97] It was a fine large building, destined to serve for sixty years.[98] And with its completion, New Providence moved into its second century of directed effort. Behind lay a century of struggle and disappointment, a hundred years of hope and achievement. Ahead lay unmeasured years, to be used for gain or for loss.

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[92] A Miss Lloyd, who gave a performance on December 23, 1889. Session Minutes, December 11, 1889.

[93] *Ibid.*, Session Minutes, August 21, 1886.

[94] McTeer, *New Providence Church,* 100.

[95] Session Minutes, July 9, 1890.

[96] McTeer, *New Providence Church,* 49-50. Another factor which contributed to the increased membership was the popularity of camp meetings held in conjunction with the Eusebia Church. One held in March, 1893, contributed thirty-nine members to the church roll. Battaglia, History of Maryville, 41.

[97] McTeer, *New Providence Church,* 70-72.

[98] This building was replaced by a new structure occupied in 1953.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST

Translated and Edited by
D. C. Corbitt and Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* Nos. 9-29)

XXII—March-April, 1793.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, MARCH 8, 1793[1]

The assembly which should be held the 6th instant, as I observed to you in my former letter, was held at the village of Olitachas to my Satisfaction. The Chiefs, and especially mingo Pouscouche[2] of Concha, who advised the others, have distinguished themselves there, and I am glad to let you know that the Choctaws do not want to interfere, unless the Creeks kill some of them, but in that case they will wage bloody war on them. He [Pouscouche] does all he can now so that those people will not approach the Choctaws, where they will make fools of themselves, and urges them to go up the Tombigbee to the Chickasaws. I assure you that I have blocked a good stroke, for many of the Chiefs and Warriors wanted to be with them since they killed the white residents of the nation, and it was very natural for them to want this. They have committed one of the greatest acts of hostility and every other Nation would have taken revenge instantly as Bloodyfellow[3] indicated to me.

I proposed to the Choctaws, in the harangue that I made to them, the appointment of two Embassies, one for the Chickasaws and one for the Creeks, composed of some Chiefs and Warriors, and I told them that I have seen with pleasure that they want to be Neutral in this affair, but this is not enough to do good to one's own self only, but that it must be done unto others who are their common brothers, the Chickasaws and also the Creeks, and that I believed that you were of the same manner of thinking, because you had commanded me to tell them that if one nation insults another you wanted to be their mediator as their common father, making arrangements for this, and for having heads given back if some are killed, and that furthermore the three nations are each as dear to us as the other, and that the king of Spain did not want to see even the smallest amount of blood of the red men spilled, and at the moment he wanted to see them all allied and united to defend the common cause, and I told them how you would learn with sorrow that they had declared war on each other, and that

*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1] A.G.I., P.C., legajo 208. Juan de la Villebeuvre was Spanish agent to the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations. Baron de Francois Hector Carondelet was governor at New Orleans.

[2] A Choctaw chief.

[3] Bloody Fellow was a Cherokee chief.

it was absolutely necessary for them to be avenged. They answered that we ought to let them do as they pleased until they have enough fighting and then they will make peace if possible, but that at present there is too much risk in going to that district for one nation or the other would kill them and therefore nobody wanted to go. From the way I acted the Chickasaws cannot suspect me of hindering the Choctaws taking their side, but, on the contrary, to have shown them affection by trying to reconcile them to the Creeks.

We have parried this stroke, but the Choctaws told me that two Chiefs of the Chickasaws would come to bring Piomingo's[4] talks. I greatly fear that some will join their party, but I will watch very carefully for fear they will start fighting, and it is lucky that this assembly was held before the arrival of the Chickasaws.

The Choctaw who was thought to have been killed at Walnut Hills[5] by the Soldiers is himself the bearer of this letter, and will present his complaints in person. He says that the Commandant himself ordered him shot at, that he was alone in his canoe and called himself a Choctaw when landing. I leave it to your consideration if a lone man, black with grease, without being [illegible] had the appearance of an enemy or a person who could do any damage. He says that he was not only fired on with rifles, but that cannon were also used and that two galleys were sent after him because he fled from the bullets. Have him questioned and you will see what he tells you. I send you herewith a note of what he lost. Please satisfy him because he is angry and could do a lot of harm to the nation.

I cannot find a courier for Natchez because of the continual rain and high water. The bayou has become a sea and the rain comes in torrents. I am sending you this letter unsealed, which I wrote on my own initiative to Gayoso de Lemos,[6] and which was brought back to me some days after its departure. This is to show you that there has been no negligence on my part. If he has not received news of what happened, my efforts to be prompt will be continued.

May the Lord keep you in His Holy Care, Boukfouka, March, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

P.S.

The Chickasaws have Consented for Turnbull[7] to put up a trading post at a place not exactly on Chickasaw Bluffs, but thirty leagues from his Home, at the place named Yagano Patasadye or the flat grounds. If Things Change one could suggest a fort to them. I have written to Turnbull about the matter [illegible].

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General.

TASKIHATOKA AND OTHERS TO DE LA VILLEBEUVRE, CHICKASAW NATION, MARCH 10, 1793[8]

Sr

I Observe in your letter to me Concerning Mr Turnbull Bringing Goods to the Chickasaw Blufs, but as Our horses are all dead that dont Suit us. we wish him to bring Goods for us up the yauzo [Yazoo] River which will be the Suitables place for us, as Mr. Turnbull Supplyed us in our needs & is Still will-

[4] A leading Chickasaw chief.
[5] Site of Vicksburg.
[6] Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Spanish governor of the Natchez district.
[7] John Turnbull, a rival of William Panton's company for the Chickasaw and Choctaw trade.
[8] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

ing, to Suply us. I hope you will write to the Governor of New Orleans to give him liberty to bring us a Suply up the yawsau [Yazoo]. As the Governor always Said he loved me and my Nation I hope he will not fail in doing this favor for me

We have Sent a [man to] our younger Brothers the Chactaws. Red people like our Selfes I hope you not interfair with our talk as the Creeks is a large nation. the Chickesaws, Chactaws & white people keeps us all poor, which I am Sertain you are very Senceble of and without some meatheod is taken with them they will give nobody any peace in this Contry you are Senceble of the White peoples blood the [they?] has Spilled in bouth Our nations & now have Spilled our own blood. What I write to you is the truth & not a lye as Mr. Faver[9] was hair [here] when one of our Warryors was killed, I under Stand you Give these made people provisions theer for I wish you would Give provisions to only Good people.

from your friend & Brother
Tuskahatogur Mingo[10]
Signed by

Longtown
Popyemango [Piomingo] and all the Leaders of his town

Bigg Town
Potoattenahto
Muckhsamingo
Capn. William Glover[11]
Tuskahopoy
Pawahogo
Tobaw
Muckhahopoy

Mr. Lavillebeuvre Commissary in the Choctaw Nation
True Coppy of the Personal Letter
Delavillebeuvre

VILLEBEUVRE TO THE CHICKASAW NATION, BOUKFOUKA, MARCH 22, 1793[12]

Boukfouka the 22 March 1793

My Dear Brothers

I have Received your letter dated the 10 t. of March[13] with Great Satisfaction which convinced me of your Regard for me and my nation

I will not fail of whriting by the first Opportunity to the Governor of New Orleans your father in favor of Mr. Turnbull to come up the yawsow river as far as the Yockeny Petafa to bring you a Convenient trade & likwise Send a Coppy of your letter to him, but I Expect by what I have heard that he is on his way to go there

Your father Attentife & Sencible of all your Wishes has not negolected of permitting him to Start Some time ago. nor never will Refuge nothing that he

---

[9] Simon Favre, a trader in the Choctaw nation.

[10] This is a phonetic attempt at Taskihatoka (Taski Etoka, etc.), the king of the Chickasaws. The garbled spelling makes difficult the recognition of names of some chiefs, even that of Piomingo.

[11] A Chickasaw chief whose Indian name was Olacta Opaye. See Villebeuvre to Carondelet, April 28, 1793. A.G.I., P.C., 208 (transcript in the McClung Collection).

[12] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[13] Printed above.

knows to be your Wishes Espssiely that what regard the good or preservation of your nation

I am with Greef & Vexation Sorry of what has happened between you & your Brothers the Creeks & have wrote to your father, who will be much Surprised to here that in Steed of and Union for the mutual Good Suport & Intrest of the red people you have Entered in a war, that without it is Stopt Soon will be the destruction of not only your but perhaps the Other nations of Red people your Brothers

But will be much more Suppresed [Surprised?] at the Same time to hear that without Acquainting him tru me as a Brother of your intentions before you put them in Execution of Sending to Other Strange people four men out of three different towns without doubt for Assistance & Amunition when your father is Still Alive who never has nor never will refuge [refuse?] you anything that you Should demand for the Good or preservation of your nation Joining his Good & best Advise which if contrary to your Opinions would Without reproach a left you to follow your own Counsels

But I am Senceble that your [father?] would not have Suffered you to be drove to Extreem of a Remedy worse than the Disage [Disease?] of which you will be only Senceble when to late to Reflect I am afrade

Be not Surprised my Brothers that I Explain my Self So plain to you be Assured that it is nothing but the Regard I have for you and the preservation of your nation to See it florish and not See it run after its Own Destruction—

Ougolayackabe[14] will Acquaint you with the talk from your fathers Own mouth and as a man of Sence that Seeks after the true Interest of his nation will tell you how contrary to your fathers Wishes & your Own interest it is to engage in anny war —

I do not se then Any Other remedy then to Reestablis a peace between you and your Brothers the creeks, I have Already Represented to your Younger Brothers the Chactaws for them to Act as Mediators between you, to Reestablese a lasting peace on Such terms that your White people Shall live in peace without fear Amongst you

You Desire me not to medle With your talk between your younger Brothers the Choctaws, Which I have not done as it is a thing that Concerns the red people Onley But as I was Requested by all the Cheefs to here the Conclusion of your first talk you Sent them I then tell you that all the Cheefs with a General voyce Represented the Scarsity of provisions true out there nation Which the[y] Said put it out of there power to Comply with your Request, Considering how terrible it was to deprive them Selfs of the Only Vue of Support for themself Wifes & Children that there Onley dependence was to hunt & there women to dig wild potatoes to Save them from dying with hunger

I do not kno how any person Could have told you I give provisions to people when I have harly Any for my Self About four months ago there was a party of twenty people here And Some time ago five of the party defeated Who did not Stay over two hours

I am Senceble mistevious people makes a Good deal of Untrue Stories Surculate about amongst you. but I hope that your Reason & Sence will not permit you to put belief in Such Lies Be Assured that I am and Shall for ever will [while?] life Remains be a friend to your nation particularly to the Cheefs who I regard as Men of Sence & Brothers

---

[14] Ogoulayacabe, a Chickasaw chief.

I hope my Brothers you will Consider how much a war will be at bad Consequence When all the paths will be Shut up but the one that will Without fail drive your nation to destruction.

Reflect and have foor Sight of what is to come and be on your Gard with Such people a time when to late I am afraid will Onley Convince you when perhaps my present fears for you will be out of your fathers power to Remedy and of no more use to try to Convince you that I am your friend & Brother

Delavillebeuvre

Coppee

VILLEBEUVRE TO OGOULAYACABE, BOUKFOUKA, MARCH 22, 1793[15]

Coppe Boukfouka the 22d March 1793

Dear Brother

I have Received Such nuws by Mr. Fooy[16] that I hope you are Safe Arrived in your Nation he beeing turned by Some Chactaws that came from there Who told him you Was Gone by and Advised him to turn back Alowing that his life was much in danger if he went any further.

I do not doubt that after a little Absence to See you[r] father you was Surprised to find your nation in volved in a War And Senceble how much it is against your fathers Wishes and your nations intrest—that gives me Reason to think that as a man of Sense you fore See the danger of letting Strange people take the Advantage of your nation unther pretents of Assisting them to Avoyde that prepare with all possible Expedition to Reestables a peace between you & Your Brothers the Creeks

I Expect news Every day from your father of what he has done to Obtain Consent of a peace from the Creeks with you Which when I Receive will let you kno but as a Consent must be Obtained from both parties I hope you will incline your nation to be redy to Except when proposed Leading them in the light of there danger

Your father Wrote me that he would Send the Corn &c and a Gun Smith to the Bluffs Which I Expect is on the Way I beg you will Write me by the first Opportunity And belief me to Remain Your friend & Brother

Delavillebeuvre

To Ougalayackabe
in the Chickasaws

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, MARCH 30, 1793[17]

Poucha Houman,[18] who has been commissioned by me to go to the Cherokees with the Other Chiefs of this nation, as well as Kioucepse mastabe, are going to the City to get the Reward that I was Obliged to promise them. As I had the honor to write you, no one was found who wanted to make the Journey.

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[15] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[16] Benjamin Fooy, an interpreter.

[17] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[18] Poucha Houman (Pouhahoma) appears in the list of chiefs prepared in Mobile on September 21, 1792. His companion was not listed, and appears not to have been ranked as a chief at that time. See Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, 3 parts, Vols. II, III, and IV, *Annual Report*, American Historical Association (Washington, D. C., 1949), Part III, 89.

Franchimastabé,[19] although a great Chief in the nation, did not want to furnish any one. These two men were lent to me at my first request, in spite of those of this nation who were trying to hinder. They went to the Chickasaws where they were Obliged to Stop because the Creeks killed a Chickasaw and because a Cherokee Chief told them to Stop the journey. In spite of this fact, their good will must be rewarded, according to my way of thinking.

I promised the first, as captain, the little medal, and the other a commission as first [lieutenant?]. I dare hope that you will have regard to the explanations I gave you about them since we might need them again. I am obliged to make these requests to you in spite of the fact that Mr. Forneret[20] has just indicated to me that you do not want to make any more chiefs. There are some cases, however, where it is absolutely necessary. Would that all the Chiefs of this Nation had been made in this manner and for such a reason.

May God keep you in His Holy Care, Boukfouka, March 30, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, MARCH 30, 1793[21]

Private Letter Boukfouka, March 30, 1793

Sir and dear Governor

Being attacked by a large abscess on the upper leg that has had me in bed for fifteen days with fever day and night, I could not write the Official Letters with my own hand. However, I have kept you informed of nearly everything that has happened in the nation except the arrival in the Choctaws of Mr. Fooy, who came from Natchez, and has not dared to go to the Chickasaws because of the news he heard on the way about war being declared between those two nations. He will stay here awaiting your first Orders.

I cannot hide from you the fact that all the Choctaws are complaining that when they go to the home of Mr. Forneret he mistreats them, throws them out the door by the arm, and does not want them to spit in his house nor smoke there. They also complain about the small amount of food they are given when they return home, and also that their presents were previously distributed at the store but are now brought to the home of the interpreter for him to distribute, and they imagine that they are not given all the things. They say that previously he was not so harsh to them when he was interpreter in New Orleans for he was poor then, but now that he has made his fortune he despises them when he should love them since they are the cause of this. Mr. Favre has heard all these talks, and I have heard some of them. I do not write everything that is told by the gossips, but in this case I feel Obliged by duty for it seems that this man knows that he is protected in the City from the insults that might result from his rudeness, especially from the Six Villages. The Choctaws report that when they gave him a letter from Favre he received it with contempt telling them that this man could not Write any better than a negro and that he was not presented at the home of the Governor. You can see that this made a bad

[19] Another Choctaw chief.

[20] Possibly the same Fourneret, an Indian interpreter, who was in New Orleans as early as 1787. See *Publications,* No. 11 (1939), 75. Some Indians thought he used his position for graft.

[21] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

impression on the Savages, destroying the effect of Favre's talk. Have the kindness to reprimand him in order to avoid this in the future.

I believe that Mr. Gayoso has spoken to you about it when he was in the City recently. According to what Mr. Fooy told me, Ogoulayacabe had brought some complaints to Mr. Gayoso about having seen Choctaws mistreated in his presence or that of his nephew who was with him in the City.

I thank you for having given your orders for my salary to be paid in Mobile where I am in debt to Mr. Forbes[22] for provisions I got from him.

I have not yet received the goods through Natchez that you mentioned in one of your last letters, although we are in a time when we need them badly, as you can imagine. I forgot to tell you that the courier Tamanha Ochanya Mastabe from the Village of Mongoulasha is an excellent man who has many talks and has conducted himself well in this affair.

I beg you to order Mr. Forneret not to mix the presents of the Chiefs with those for the warriors when he distributes them, since some of the Chiefs keep everything for themselves and others more generous give away everything and have nothing for themselves so that both resent it and are discontent.

Some of the Chiefs complain that they have not had the pleasure of seeing you when they go to the City because the interpreter told them you could not be Seen.

I believe I have mentioned that you did not acknowledge the Receipt of some letters that I had the Honor to write to you, and like you, I fear that somebody has intercepted them. I shall number them from now on. . . .

Juan de la Villebeuvre

TASKIHATOKA TO VILLEBEUVRE, CHICKASAWS, APRIL 2, 1793[23]

Checkesaws the 2 April 1793

Dear Sir

I send these few lines to you to Acquaint you that the Choctaws & Checkesaws has allways Estemed them Selves as friends & brothers and wee are now in dispute with a other Nation and I don't See that you have aney Rite tow inter fair if it is thear Desire to Assist us in Our disputes, for the crecks is a killing the White people at the Natchez—I would be Glad to kno if you do not Esteem them as Spanish Subjects. And as you are in a borrowed land Your Self I dont See that you have any rite to inter fair, for it is not Our Seaking that the dispute was brought on, but as it is begun we look on Our Selves as men and are determined to See the up Shot of it you have always pertended a great deal of friendship to use. now We Shall See if you are Sincear in it and if you are not we must try to find other friends I Remain your

Brother & friend

Tuskeatokamingo

to

Mr. Lavillebeuvre

Coppee

[22] John Forbes, cashier and partner of William Panton.
[23] A.G.I., P.C., 208.

[Translation]

VILLEBEUVRE TO CARONDELET, BOUKFOUKA, APRIL 4, 1793[24]

No. 2.

The two chiefs of the Small medal named Soulousoumastabe and Ouyoupaoument of the Village of Ebilabougoulatchito,[25] who have been in America, are determined to leave for New Orleans since the others cannot go now because they are obliged to leave the place where they live, for it is in an isolated position, and come to dwell in the Midst of the Villages, and there be protected from the Creeks. This was really what hindered them besides the fear of being ill received in the City. I beg you to receive them well and make them welcome; this will encourage the others to come. I send you enclosed the American commissions of both of the Chiefs with whom I am well Pleased since my arrival in the Nation. They were very much given over to our interests, especially during the last Affair when Piomingo of the Chickasaws sent a War Talk to the Choctaws.

As Maingopouscouse[26] of Concha will start immediately to see you, I will do my best to see that he takes with him the rest of the American Chiefs who number some eight or Ten. I therefore beg you to treat them well in order to win over the others and get them to hand over their Commissions and stop thinking of the Americans, for I think there is still a little leaven among them, and furthermore, they are People who are loyal to Piomingo, who instructs them in everything that happens in the Nation, and who at the last Talks could not be counted on.

I have just learned that a Chickasaw Mestizo, one of Colbert's sons, was in the Creek nation with three other Chickasaws before War was declared, one of whom was killed by his boatman. The Mestizo was only able to save himself by going over to the Choctaws to report that the Creeks Intended to kill the Choctaws, which I do not believe. Nevertheless, in view of the embassy which the Boatmen came here to make, I have had to write you in my letter No. I, and I imagine that he has told this in order to turn them against the Creeks.

May God keep you in His Holy Care, Boukfouka, April 4, 1793.

Juan de la Villebeuvre

Monsieur the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General

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[24] *Ibid.*

[25] One of the Small Party villages, sometimes written Ebitabougoula chito. The chiefs mentioned here did not attend the meeting held for the Choctaws in Mobile in September of 1792.

[26] Also Mingo Puscouche.

EARLY EAST TENNESSEE TAXPAYERS

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

VI. Carter County, 1796[1]

Carter County was created on April 9, 1796, by the First General Assembly of Tennessee.[2] The territory was removed from Washington County, the oldest county in the state, which had been created in 1777. The new county was named for Landon Carter, Revolutionary soldier and son of John Carter, prominent Wataugan leader.

Carter County was created out of the eastern part of Washington County. At the time of its creation its eastern boundary was the North Carolina line, its northwestern boundary was Sullivan County, Tennessee, and its northern boundary, Washington County, Virginia. No territory was removed from Carter County until 1836, when Johnson County was created.[3] In 1875 Unicoi County was created out of parts of Carter and Johnson counties.[4]

The earliest settlement by white people in what is now Carter County was in 1769-1770. By 1772 when the Watauga Association had been formed, there were about "seventy plantations."[5]

The first justices of the peace were Andrew Greer, Landon Carter, Nathaniel Taylor, David McNabb, Zachariah Campbell, Guttredge Garland, John Vaught, Joseph Lands, and Reuben Thorn. The first court was held at the house of Samuel Tipton.[6]

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[1] For introduction to this series see *Publications*, No. 23, pp. 115-16. Previous installments have been: I, Anderson County, 1802, in No. 23; II, Blount County, 1801, in No. 24; III, Knox County, 1806, in No. 25; IV, Grainger County, 1799, in No. 27; V, Jefferson County, 1800, in No. 28.

[2] George Roulstone (comp.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1803), 100-102.

[3] Henry D. Whitney (comp. and ed.), *The Land Laws of Tennessee . . .* (Chattanooga, 1891), 757-58.

[4] *Ibid.*, 907-08.

[5] Samuel Cole Williams, *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, 1937), 364, 377. This volume is extremely useful for information relating to the earliest settlers among the Carter County taxpayers of 1796. See also Frank Merritt, *Early History of Carter County*, 1760-1861 (Knoxville, 1950).

[6] Goodspeed Publishing Company, *History of Tennessee, East Tennessee Edition* (Chicago, 1887), 908. Hereafter cited as Goodspeed, *Hist. of Tenn.*

The first officers for the county were: sheriff, Nathaniel Taylor; clerk, George Williams; register of deeds, Godfrey Carriger, Jr.; trustee, Joseph McLin; ranger, Joseph Lands.[7]

Five commissioners were appointed to lay out a place for a county seat. The site chosen was a place known as the Watauga Old Fields, on the east side of Doe River, a short distance above where the river empties into the Watauga. The town was named Elizabethton, in honor of Elizabeth Maclin, wife of Landon Carter.[8]

The town was laid off by Samuel Tipton upon his own land.[9] Of the seventy-seven lots laid off, nine were reserved for public buildings. The remaining lots were disposed of by a lottery.[10]

The system of assessing and collecting public taxes in Tennessee was established by an act passed by the territorial assembly on September 30, 1794.[11] This act prescribed the manner for taking the taxes and designated what property was taxable: "All lands held by deed or entry . . . or by lease, or right of dower, all free males and male servants, between the age of twenty-one and fifty years, all slaves, male and female, between the age of ten and fifty years, all stud horses, and all town lots within this territory."

The territorial law followed the statutes of North Carolina. Under the territorial act and North Carolina acts, the valuation of lands by the hundred acres was fixed arbitrarily, and this would seem to imply a result which was made express in the constitution of 1796, that no one hundred acres of land should be taxed higher than another.

The constitution of 1796 declared that, "All laws and ordinances now in force and use in this Territory, not inconsistent with this Constitution, shall continue to be in force and use in this State until they shall expire, be altered or repealed, by the Legislature. . . ."

The constitution also fixed the rates which could be charged for taxation: "No one hundred acres shall be taxed higher than another, except town lots, which shall not be taxed higher than two hundred acres of land each; no free man shall be taxed higher than one hundred acres, and no slave higher than two hundred acres, on each pole."

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[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Roulstone, *Laws*, 184.
[9] Goodspeed, *Hist. of Tenn.*, 909.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Roulstone, *Laws*, 54-56.

Under the territorial law the sheriff of each county was to summon the justices of the peace for his county to assemble at the courthouse and appoint one justice of the peace for every captain's district in each county and in town one for each town, to receive lists of taxable property in each district. Justices were to fix the time and place in each district for receiving lists of taxable property. The justices were required to advertise at three of the most public places in his district at least fifteen days prior to the time of taking such taxable property. The justices were required to make their returns to the county court and the clerk was supposed to record in alphabetical order the annual returns made by the justices in his county:

> Sec. 10. And be it enacted, That at the first court in every county, to be held next after the fifth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety five, in every year after the present. Such court shall appoint a justice of the peace for every district in the county, to receive lists of available property for the then present year; and the clerk of each county court shall furnish each justice within twenty days after his appointment, with a fair alphabetical copy at large of the taxable property within this district the preceding year, under the penalty of twenty five dollars for each neglect, to be recovered by action of debt, in the governor's name, in any court having cognizance thereof, and to be applied to the use of the county.

The following list was transcribed from a microfilm copy of the original certified copy returned by George Williams, Carter County, court clerk, to the Tennessee general assembly, now on file in the Tennessee Archives. It is not of record in Carter County. Also in the Archives are lists for 1797, 1798, and 1799. All of these lists were microfilmed by the compiler in 1949, through the courtesy of Mrs. John Trotwood Moore, then Tennessee state librarian and archivist. The films are available in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

The public records of Carter County on file in the courthouse at Elizabethton have suffered some destruction. The early marriage bonds and licenses are not all recorded in books; neither are the wills and estate records, but are kept in metal file boxes in the county court clerk's office.[12] The minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions before 1819, with the exception of the years 1804-05, are missing. The deeds

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[12] A copy of the original marriage bonds and licenses, 1796-1850, has been transcribed by Robert T. Nave, and is published as Volume 1 of *Tennessee Marriage Records*, edited by Pollyanna Creekmore (Knoxville, 1958).

are all preserved and are available in the register's office. Current instruments are recorded by photostat.

The tax rate for 1796 is unknown due to the loss of the early county court minutes.

CARTER COUNTY, TENNESSEE
TAX LISTS
1796

Key to Column Numbers[13]
[1] Acres of land
[2] White polls
[3] Black polls

"A list of Taxable property in Carter County for the year 1796"

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]	*Names*	[1]	[2]	[3]
Archer, William		1		Burk, Elihew		1	
Archer, John	200			Burk, Arter		1	
Ashe, Thomas	100	1		Bullinger, Peter	250	1	
Alexander, George	75	1		Ballard, John		1	
Abner, Elisha	205	1		Baker, John	155	1	
Anderson,				Buckner, William		1	
Thomas, Junr.	155	1		Burk, Abraham		1	
Anderson,				Branstetter, Peter	200	1	
Thomas, Senr.		1		Barkehouse, John	300		
Anderson, Joshua		1		Boon, Soloman	200	1	
Asher, John	100	1		Baker, William		1	
Ashbrooks, George		1					
Adams, Jesse		1		Colyer, Charles	400	1	
				Cooper, Nathan		1	
Boyd, William	400	1	2	Curtis, Bolen		1	
Bogart, Samuel	608			Cooper, Edward		1	
Bailey, Cottril	269½			Cooper, Joel	177		
Bailey, Charles	240	1		Cobb, Dred	50	1	
Bogart, Cornelius	194¾	1		Cooper, Patience	300		
Bradford, Benjamin		1		Cooper, John		1	
Bass, Jeremiah	240	1	9	Cooper, Jobe	150	1	
Bowers, Leonard	50	1		Cunningham, Aaron		1	
Bird, James		1		Cunningham, Mary	590		
Bishop, Samuel		1		Cumpton, John		1	
Bell, Richard		1		Cooper, Abraham	100	1	
Brimer, Joseph	300	1		Conner, Julius	400	1	3
Beames, James		1		Crosson, Samuel		1	

[13] There are two additional columns in the original, "Stud horses" and "Town lots." No individuals were listed as owning any town lots, but thirteen were designated as owners of stud horses with one owning two: Peter Bullinger, Pharoah Cobb, Godfrey Carriger, Sr., Alexander Greer, James Jones, Robert Lusk, Isaac Lincoln, Gidian Metlock, Teter Nave, Edward Smith, Joseph Tipton **(2)**, Nathaniel Taylor, and Samuel Tipton.

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Cobb, Pharoah	640	1	8
Carriger, Godfrey, Junr.	322	1	
Carriger, Godfrey, Senr.	1694	1	3
Cox, John	140	1	
Carriger, Nicholas	450	1	
Carriger, Michael	756	1	
Cox, Abraham	300	1	
Cox, Richard		1	
Campbell, Solomon	200	1	
Colboth, Jacob		1	
Carven, Thomas	210	1	
Campbell, Jeremiah	94	1	
Campbell, Zachariah, Junr.		1	
Campbell, Isaac	150	1	
Campbell, Zachariah, Senr.	100		
Cutberth, Benjamin, Junr.		1	
Cutberth, Benjamin, Senr.			1
Cain, Peter		1	
Cain, John	115	1	
Cunningham, William	70	1	
Carter, Landon	10676	1	7
Carter, John	415	1	2
Cutberth, Daniel	100	1	
Crosswhite, George	100	1	
Davis, William	200		1
Davis, Natham	260		
Dyer, John	125	1	
Daniel, Woodson		1	
Dunlap, Samuel		1	
Drake, Benjamin	339½		
Drake, Abraham		1	
Dunkin, Laurance	140	1	
Dunkin, Jesse		1	
Duggard, Julias	183	1	
Duggard, William	250	1	
English, Henry		1	
Evans, Archer	160	1	
Eden, James	400	1	1
English, Robert	100		
Edwards, Solomon		1	
Emmert, George	279	1	
Evans, Samuel		1	
Elkins, Abraham		1	
Engle, George		1	
Estridge, Richard		1	
Farmer, John		1	
Farmer, Thomas		1	
Franks, Richard		1	
Folsom, Nathaniel		1	
Frasher, Alexander		1	1
Flanary, William	200	1	
Ford, Joseph	500	1	
Fisher, William		1	
Fisher, Anthoney	300		
Grindstaff, Henry		1	
Grindstaff, Michael	80	1	
Garland, Guttradge	150	1	
Garland, Joseph	375	1	
Garland, Samuel		1	
Gourley, Thomas	50	1	
Garretson, John		1	
Gillam, John		1	
Greer, Andrew	1800		3
Garland, Samuel	425		
Garland, Harper	125	1	
Garland, Ambrous	100	1	
Garland, John	200	1	
Greer, Alexander		1	3
Garland, Harper	100	1	
Gentry, Joseph	100	1	
Griffin, William	200		2
Graves, James		1	
Hail, John		1	
Hill, John		1	
Hendricks, Solomon	110	1	
Humphreys, Jesse	245	1	
Hanes, George	500	1	
Hufman, Daniel	100	1	
Hudeburk, Thomas	140	1	
Haun, Abraham	100	1	
Hendricks, John	600	1	
Hider, John	150	1	
Henry, Abraham		1	
Hail, John	349	1	
Hider, Michael	150	1	
Hider, Elizabeth	150	1	
Hider, Adam		1	
Haun, Mathias	100	1	
Haun, Christopher	100	1	
Haun, Sebaustein	200		
Heatherick, Jacob		1	
Hooser, John		1	
Helton, Peter		1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Harden, William		1	
Henderson, John		1	1
Henderson, Peter		1	
Henderson, John, Junr.		1	
Houser, John		1	
Helton, Peter		1	
Heatherly, John		1	
Howard, John	107	1	
Heaton, John	104	1	
Hooker, William		1	
Ivey, James	50		
Ingle, Peter	100	1	
Jones, James	200	1	
Jones, Thomas	100	1	
Jones, Wells		1	
Justice, Jacob		1	
Jenkins, Roland	248	1	
Jenkins, Hugh	100	1	
Jackson, William	300		
James, Rawlings	575	1	
Jones, Lewis	40		
Johnston, John	5000		
King, William		1	
Kite, Richard	150		
Kite, Isaac		1	
Kimmons, Joseph		1	
Lockhart, William		1	
Lackey, Thomas	200	1	
Lusk, Robert	244		
Lusk, Samuel		1	
Lockhart, Robert		1	
Lincoln, Isaac	725	2	4
Lacy, John		1	
Lacy, Philimon		1	
Lacy, James		1	
Large, Joseph		1	
Larew, Samuel		1	
Lay, Jesse		1	
Lay, John	200	1	2
Logan, George	175	1	
Loyd, Levy	100	1	
Loyd, James	50	1	
Loyd, John	100	1	
McInturf, Christopher	400		
McInturf, John, Junr.	218	1	
McInturf, John, Senr.	200	1	
Miller, Jacob		1	
McInturf, Caspar	100		
McNabb, Baptist		1	
McNabb, David, Junr.		1	
Moor, Absolem	50	1	
McGeehen, Brewer		1	
Maxfield, Thomas	180⅓	1	
Moor, Daniel	100	1	
McCormack, Robert	60	1	
McCay, John	300	1	
Miers, Peter	40		
McInturf, Israel	60		
McNabb, William	300		
McNabb, David, Senr.	258	1	
Musgrave, Robert	320	1	
Mason, Michael		1	
Morris, Levin	100	1	
Moor, John Parker	120	1	
Metlock, Gidian		1	
Musgrave, Samuel	320	1	1
Metlock, William		1	
Metlock, George	444	1	
Mullins, John		1	
Miller, John		1	
Moreland, Charles		1	
Miller, George	60	1	
Moreland, William	500	1	
Mulkey, Philip	100	1	
Mulkey, Ann	60		
Miller, Chrisley	100	1	
Miller, Daniel	50	1	
Miller, John, Senr.	200	1	
Miller, John, Junr.		1	
Miller, Jacob	50		
Miller, Henry	340		
McQueen, Hannah	370		
McQueen, John		1	
McWilliams, Thomas		1	
Newel, Joseph		1	
Nicholas, Daniel	100	1	
Nave, Teter	200	1	
Nave, John	100	1	
Nave, Abraham	50	1	
Nowland, William		1	
Nowland, John		1	
Nicholson, John	36000		
Peoples, Nathan		1	
Price, John		1	
Poland, John	200	1	
Payton, Joseph	128½		
Price, Thomas	100		

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Price, Solomon		1	
Patten, John	430		
Pattrick, Jesse	213		
Pattrick, John		1	
Peoples, William	100		
Peticord, Thomas		1	
Pearson, Abel		1	
Price, James		1	
Peters, John		1	
Peters, Samuel		1	
Payne, Thomas		1	
Parker, James		1	1
Perkins, George	100	1	
Prophit, John	200	1	
Perkins, Jacob	200	1	
Petree, Daniel	50	1	
Petree, Adam	100	1	
Parsons, Robert	50	1	
Peters [Smithpeters] John M. S.	596	1	
Primmer, Mary	100		
Pugh, David	249	1	
Pugh, William	275	1	
Peoples, John	166		1
Range, James	270	1	
Rockhold, Dorson		1	
Rodgers, Robert		1	
Reasoner, Garret	208		2
Right, Thomas	144¾	1	
Right, Robert		1	
Redman, Stephen		1	
Robertson, John	50	1	
Ray, William	25	1	
Rainbolt, Adam	112	1	
Rainbolt, Susannah	100		
Roberts, William	50	1	
Russell, Thomas		1	
Reynolds, Moses	100	1	
Robertson, John	100	1	
Reser, John	100	1	
Right, James		1	
Sharp, William	540		
Simmerly, Adam		1	
Simpson, Crisford		1	
Smith, John	100	1	
Smith, Brooks		1	
Smallin, Samuel	29	1	
Scot, Absalom		1	
Skippeth, Needham		1	
Sevier, John, Junr.	139	1	1
Stover, Christian		1	
Stover, John		1	
Sevier, Joseph		1	1
Stover, Daniel		1	
Sevier, Abraham	120	1	
Sevier, Valentine	310		1
Schuyler, Joseph		1	
Simmerly, John	150	1	
Smith, William	100	1	
Smith, Samuel		1	
Swanger, John		1	
Strewel, William		1	
Smith, Nicholas	150	1	
Sewel, Abraham		1	
Smith, Edward	4500		
Slymp, Michael		1	
Storm, Peter	300	1	
Storm, Coonrod	100	1	
Smith, Jacob	300	1	
Storm, John	50	1	
Storm, Cornelius	100	1	
Snider, Peter	133	1	
Shown, Leonard	100	1	
Smith, Humphrey	260	1	
Suel, Dorson		1	
Stour, Daniel	300	1	
Suel, Joseph	100	1	
Sands, Joseph	100	1	
Terry, Sarah, widow			1
Terry, Moses		1	
Terry, Jesper		1	
Taylor, James	100	1	
Taylor, Andrew	238	1	
Taylor, Matthew	350	1	
Tipton, Joseph	500		1
Thompson, Joshua	50	1	
Tyre, William	50	1	
Taylor, Isaac	600	1	
Tipton, John		1	
Tipton, Jonathan	187	1	
Taylor, Nathaniel	1500	1	4
Tipton, Isaac	663	1	
Tipton, Samuel	888½	1	2
Tipton, Jonathan, Senr.		1	
Tipton, Thomas	515	1	
Tullis, Samuel	400	1	
Thompkins, Joseph		1	
Terford, William		1	
Thomson, Garsham		1	

Names	[1]	[2]	[3]
Thornton, Reuben	850	1	
Vaught, John	600		
Vintreas, John	325	1	
Vandegriff, Gilbert		1	
Vandegriff, Jacob		1	
Venoy, William	200	1	
Vest, William		1	
Vance, John	50	1	
Wyatt, William		1	
Whitson, Jeremiah	145	1	
Whitson, Charles		1	
Williams, Samuel		1	
Williams, Archibald	236	1	
Williams, Lucreatia	778		5
Williams, George	317	1	
Whitson, Jesse	137	1	4
Wiles, John		1	
Williams, Francis		1	
Whitson, Abraham		1	
Whitson, John		1	
Whitson, William		1	
Wyatt, Thomas	100	1	
Windham, William		1	
Worley, John	100	1	
Windham, Aaron		1	
Wilson, Samuel	100	1	
White, Richard	480		4
Wilson, John		1	
Wells, Lewis	164	1	
Wyman, Henry	400	1	
Waggonner, Mathias	765	1	2
Widbey, William	100	1	
White, James	1300		
Wilson, Joseph		1	
Western, William		1	
Western, Joseph			
Wilson, John, Senr.	63		1
Wilson, Garland		1	
Waggoner, David	572	1	3
Wilson, William	200	1	
Walters, Robert		1	
Wilson, John, Junr.	75	1	
Walters, John		1	
Whitson, Thomas	350		
Yeates, Samuel		1	

"A true return Errors excepted—Geo. Williams, C. D."

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Musgrove. George Dallas. Kentucky cavaliers in Dixie. Ed. by Bell I. Wiley. Jackson, McCowat-Mercer press, 1957. xliv, 281 p. illus. $6.00.

Neal, Carl B. Leonard Shoun and his wife Barbara Slemp Shoun of Johnson county, Tennessee and their descendants. Olympia, Wash., 1957. Carl B. Neal, 3324 Hoadley Road, Olympia [xvii] 259 p.

Nicholls, W. H. Human resources and industrial development in the upper east Tennessee valley, 1900-1950. (Qr. jour. economics. May '57. v. 71: 289-316.)

Old fort, origin unknown, to be developed by state. (Tenn. conservationist. Nov. '57. v. 23: 10 ["Old Stone Fort," near Manchester.]

Old home restored by state. (Tenn. conservationist. Nov. '57. v. 23: 11-12). [Cragfront, home of James Winchester.]

Peters, Kate Johnston, ed. Lauderdale county from earliest times. Ripley, Tenn., Sugar Hill Lauderdale county library, 1957. xii, 377p. maps, illus. $6.50.

Phelps, Dawson A. The Chickasaw, the English, and the French, 1699-1744. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '57. v. 16: 117-33.)

Posey, Walter Brownlow. The Baptist church in the lower Mississippi valley. Lexington, Univ. of Ky. press, 1957. vii, 166p. $5.00.)

Price, Prentiss. A further note on Doctor James Cozby. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Echoes. Jan. '57. v. 3, no. 1: 60.)

Public education in Tennessee, grades through 12. A report to the Education survey subcommittee of the Tennessee legislative council. Submitted November 18, 1957 by James E. Gibbs, director of the study. xxxii, 487 p.

Pugh, Robert C. The Revolutionary militia in the southern campaign, 1780-1781. (Wm. and Mary qr. April '57. Ser. 3, v. 14: 154-75.)

Rees, Beatrice Milhous and Alderson, William T. A Tennessean, Texan, and Camels: The diary of James H. Holman, June 11 to August 25, 1860. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '57. v. 16: 250-61.)

Ritter, Charles C. "The Drama in Our Midst": the early history of the theater in Memphis. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 11: 5-35.)

Roberts, Mrs. Carl H. Tennessee. (D.A.R. mag. Aug. '57. v. 91: 1002-1003; 1010.)

Rodgers, Ellen Davies. Historic homes of Tennessee D.A.R. (D.A.R. mag. Aug. '57. v. 91: 941-51; 1020.)

Roland, Charles P. Albert Sidney Johnston and the loss of Forts Henry and Donelson. (Jour. So. hist. Feb. '57. v. 23: 45-69.)

Rothrock, Mary U. Laura Elizabeth Luttrell. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 29: 3-9.)

Sellers, Charles Grier, Jr. Jackson men with feet of clay. (Amer. hist. rev. April '57. v. 62: 537-51.)

Sellers, Charles Grier, Jr. James K. Polk, Jacksonian, 1795-1843. Princeton, Princeton univ. press, 1957. xiv, 526 p. $7.50.

Shankman, Sam. Baron Hirsch congregation: from Ur to Memphis. Memphis, Baron Hirsch Synagogue, 1957. illus. 153 p.

Sharp, Joe A. Flayl Nichols. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Echoes. Jan. '57. v. 3, no. 1: 60-61.)

Shaub, Earl L. Battlefields are tourist attractions. (Tenn. conservationist. Sept. '57. v. 23: 6-7.)

Shaub, Earl L. The hermitage is tourist attraction. (Tenn. conservationist. Aug. '57. v. 23: 4-5; 12.)

Sisler, George. The arrest of a Memphis *Daily Appeal* war correspondent on charges of treason. (West Tenn. hist. soc. Papers, no. 11: 76-92.)

Sitterson, J. Carlyle, ed., Studies in southern history, James Sprunt Studies in history and political science. Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press. xii, 168 p. [contains a study of William Blount by Alice B. Keith.]

Smith, Alice E., ed. The Journals of Welcome Arnold Greene: Journeys in the South, 1822-1824. Madison, State hist. soc., 1957. x, 299p. [Cumberland Valley in 1824.]

State boy rides 860 miles in nine days with war news. (Tenn. conservationist. Nov. '57. v. 23: 6-7.)

Stiffler, Stuart A. Davy Crockett: the genesis of heroic myth. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '57. v. 16: 134-40.)

Taylor, A. Elizabeth. The woman suffrage movement in Tennessee. New York, Bookman associates, 1957. 150p.

Taylor, O. W. Early Tennessee baptists. Nashville, Exec. board of Tenn. bapt. conv., 1957. x, 314 p.

The Taylors of Tabernacle, the history of a family. Brownsville, Tabernacle hist. com., 1957. xxiv, 630 p.

Tennessee state library and archives. Public libraries division. A study of the community of La Follette, Tennessee. Presented by the Tennessee state library division Clinch-Powell region. A study developed with the aid of a state grant award by the American library association, Library community project, from the Fund for adult education, 1955-1957. Nashville, 1957. 51p.

Tennessee state library and archives. State library division. A list of Tennessee state publications, no. 4, February, 1957. Nashville, 1957. 34p.

Tennessee studies in literature, Vol. II, edited by Alwin Thaler and Richard Beale Davis. Knoxville, Univ. of Tenn. press, 1957. 120 p.

Tennessee's covered bridges. (Tenn. conservationist. Dec. '57. v. 23: 13-14.)

Terasaki, Mrs. Given. Bridge to the Sun, Chapel Hill, Univ. of N. C. press, 1957. xii, 262 p.

Walker, Peter Franklin. Building a Tennessee army: Autumn, 1861. (Tenn. hist. qr. June '57. v. 16: 99-116.)

Walker, Peter Franklin. Command failure: the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '57. v. 16: 335-60.)

Walker, Peter Franklin. Holding the Tennessee line: winter, 1861-62. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '57. v. 16: 228-49.)

Webb, George W. The hardware lumber industry of the eastern highland rim. (Tenn. academy of science jour. July '57. v. 32: 216-27.)

Weinberg, Arthur, ed. Attorney for the damned. [Clarence Darrow] Foreword by Justice W. O. Douglas. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1957. xxiv, 552 p. [Scopes trial.]

White, Robert H. Messages of the governors of Tennessee. Vol. IV, 1845-1857. Nashville, Tenn. hist. comm., 1957. x, 741 p. illus. $4.00.

Wilson, Marshall A. Richard Rankin and his eleven sons. (East. Tenn. hist. soc. Echoes. April, '57. v. 3, no. 2: 69-70.)

Yobaggy, Robert. Tennessee ghost towns consumed by wilderness. (Tenn. conservationist. Mar. '57. v. 23: 7-8.)

UNPUBLISHED MASTER'S THESES, 1957

George Peabody College

Hyatt, Lewis Paul. The Clarksville *Leaf Chronicle,* 1808-1956.

Memphis State University

Vanderwood, Paul Joseph. The night riders of West Tennessee.

University of Tennessee

Ballentine, Nelle. A bibliographical checklist of Knoxville and Memphis imprints, 1867-1876, with an introductory essay on the Knoxville and Memphis press.

Barclay, Frank H. The natural vegetation of Johnson county, Tennessee, past and present.

Byerly, Don W. The geology of the northern portion of Dutch Valley, Anderson County, Tennessee.

Britt, Thomas. The marketing of forest products in Tennessee.

Chandrawatna, Pradit. The Greyhound corporation.

Chapman, Joe Alexander. The natural vegetation of English Mountain, Tennessee.

Cope, Annis Davis. A history of education in Hawkins county with special reference to Rock Hill school.

Davis, Haze Aaron. A study of the four high schools in Claiborne county, Tennessee.

Evans, Estle. Leadership in the Powell Valley improvement program.

Finlayson, Carroll Pratt. The geology of the Max Patch mountain area, Lemon Gap quadrangle, Tennessee-North Carolina.

Gilbert, Leonard C. The geology of Dutcher Knob and Richland Creek Valley, Rhea county, Tennessee.

Harding, James L. The geology in the vicinity of Emory Gap, Roane county, Tennessee.

Hathway, Donald Joseph. The geology of a portion of the red knobs area, eastern Loudon county, Tennessee.

Holcomb, Marjoriebell S. A recent history and the present status of the Tennessee School for the Deaf.

Leak, Robert Edwards. The geology of Coaling Grounds Ridge and vicinity, Roane county, Tennessee.

McClary, Ben Harris. "Fun, fact and philosophy": the diary of John Coffee Williamson, 1858-1861.

McMaster, William Murry. The geology of East Fork Ridge and Pilot Knob, Anderson county, Tennessee.

Mebane, R. Alan. The geology of the South Harriman area, Roane county, Tennessee.

Nicks, Roy S. City-county separation in Tennessee. A case study of Kingsport and Sullivan county.

Rutledge, Thomas E. A study of Methodist child caring institutions.

Storey, Myntha Mae. Legislation affecting Scott county schools.

Vinson, Lacy W. A study of the ability of Cocke county to support its schools.

Vanderbilt University

McCary, Charles E. L. Pre-Catheys geology of the Aspen Hill quadrangle, Giles county, Tennessee.

Macpherson, Joseph Tant, Jr. Nashville's German element—1850-1870.

Morrow, William Earl. Geology of the Leipers Fork quadrangle.

Stewart, James K., Jr. A critical analysis of the Tennessee state retirement pension system and a proposed plan integrated with the old age and survivors insurance program.

UNPUBLISHED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS, 1957

University of North Carolina

Gonzales, John Edmond. The public career of Henry Stuart Foote (1804-1880).

Vanderbilt University

Riggs, Fletcher E. An analysis of southern economic development with particular reference to agriculture: Upper Tennessee valley, 1900-40.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

Tribes That Slumber: Indian Times in the Tennessee Region. By Thomas M. N. Lewis and Madeline Kneberg. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1958. Pp. xi, 196. Illustrations [by Madeline Kneberg], map, bibliography, index. $3.75.)

"This book was almost twenty-five years in the making. It dates back to 1934 when Professor Thomas M. N. Lewis came to The University of Tennessee to rescue the rich history of the Tennessee Indians from ground destined to be flooded by the TVA lakes.

"From this mass archæological project and from many other Indian sites in the Tennessee region, the authors have taken the material evidence of long-ago cultures and breathed life into the fascinating story of the region's ancient and earliest people. . . .

"The knowing hands of Lewis and Kneberg, the author-archæologists—and Kneberg, the artist—have used a broad canvas for their Indians, for the Tribes That Slumber reach back to the nomadic hunters of the Ice Age and forward to the Cherokee whose descendants still live on the Qualla Reservation. Authoritative, yet very much alive, this book will be enjoyed by students, amateur archæologists, and everyone else with a curiosity about the Indians." (Jacket.)

Knoxville. By Betsy Beeler Creekmore. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1958. Pp. xii, 307. Illustrations, bibliography. $4.00.)

"Here at long last is a book about Knoxville, the first since 1900!

"This is not a history, but rather the story of a city and of the people who have influenced its growth. Here is the first planned city in the West, and the first capital of Tennessee. Here is the city that withstood a determined siege during the Civil War. Here is the center of great changes in the present century —the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the Tennessee Valley Authority, Oak Ridge. Here are the men (and the ladies) who have made Knoxville unique and made it interesting." (Jacket.)

The chapter titles are: The Cherokee in Tennessee; William Blount, The Founding of a City; John Sevier; Hugh Lawson White; The War Between the States; William G. Brownlow; Perez Dickinson; Lawrence D. Tyson; The University of Tennessee; The Distaff Side; The Great Smoky Mountains National Park; The Tennessee Valley Authority; Oak Ridge; Here and Now; Seeing Is Believing.

Knoxville Cookbook, 1900. Reedited by Frank T. Rogers, M.D. (Nashville: McQuiddy Printing Co., 1957. Pp. 466. $4.00.)

This is a reprint (with editing) of a cookbook published in 1901 by the Knoxville Woman's Building Association, and added to it are a list of residents of Knoxville, 1900, and thirty-two maps showing streets and building locations.

Community Historical Sketches in Knox County, Tennessee: Corryton—Harbison's Cross Roads—Smithwood. By Nannie Lee Hicks. (Knoxville: Knox County Library, Multilithed, no date. Frontispiece, map.)

"We consider this bulletin the first in a series of *Community Historical Sketches.* The Knox County Library recently asked Miss Hicks if she would serve as a consultant for local committees who are now working on their own community history. Out of such cooperation other interesting sketches will evidently be available from time to time." (Foreword.)

The Woman Suffrage Movement in Tennessee. By A. Elizabeth Taylor. (New York: Bookman Associates, 1957. Pp. 150. Notes, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

"The woman suffrage amendment, which brought into being an enormous number of additional voters, was enacted only after many years of campaigning and crusading. Its advocates agitated on the local, state, and national levels. They found that the United States Congress was willing to vote women's enfranchisement only after several state legislatures had done so. Each state had its suffrage movement, and among the southern states Tennessee was one of the more active. There women gained partial enfranchisement through acts of the state legislature. And in 1920 Tennessee won national acclaim when it became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, thereby making it the law of the land." (Preface.)

John Trotwood Moore: Tennessee Man of Letters. By Claud B. Green. (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1957. Pp. x, 189. Frontispiece, notes, index. $4.00.)

"Fortunate is the biographer who finds that the manuscripts and primary source materials about the figure of his research have been carefully preserved and are already assembled into a single collection. Some years ago when I first began my investigation of the life and works of John Trotwood Moore I went to Nashville, Tennessee, and met Mrs. Moore, who had succeeded her husband as State Librarian of Tennessee after his death. There I discovered a remarkably full and complete collection of materials about her husband which Mrs. Moore had been gathering for the past half century. This collection, now in Mrs. Moore's home in Nashville, contains manuscripts, scrapbooks, correspondence with editors and publishers, contracts, royalty reports, and other items which have been of inestimable value. I have described these materials in more detail in an appendix. Throughout my research Mrs. Moore has been most generous and gracious in giving me full and complete access to her collection." (Preface.)

Recollections of 92 Years, 1824-1916. By Elizabeth Avery Meriwether. (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1958. Pp. xii, 249. Illustrations, index. $4.00.)

This is an interesting memoir written in 1916 by a Memphis woman who had thrilling experiences during the days of Civl War and Reconstruction and who later became an outstanding leader in the woman suffrage movement in Tennessee.

County Scott and its Mountain Folk. By Esther Sharp Sanderson. (Huntsville: Esther Sharp Sanderson, 1958. Pp. vi, 254. Illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

"There has been little recorded history of Scott County. Much of it has faded from the minds of even the oldest citizens now living. Much has been indistinctly remembered or handed down by vague and uncertain tradition.

"Reference books of various types have yielded facts of many phases of life in our County. Old records that have been carefully preserved over the years, family Bibles and gravestones have yielded information. State and National Archives and the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture have furnished much documentation. The public libraries and the court records proved valuable sources of information. The 'Scott County Call,' the 'Cumberland-Chronicle,' and the 'Scott County News' have proved nearly priceless." (Preface.)

Tennessee Marriage Records. Vol. I, *Carter County,* 1796-1850. Edited by Pollyanna Creekmore and Robert Tipton Nave (Knoxville: Clinchdale Press, 1958. Pp. 178. Maps, index. $10.00.)

"The Carter County marriage records are on file in the County Court Clerk's Office in the Courthouse at Elizabethton. The original bonds and licenses are kept in metal file boxes, and while there is a marriage register, very few of the original records have been copied into this register. The Carter County records have suffered materially from lack of care by early custodians, constant handling, and in removal of the Courthouse.

"The transcribers had each independently copied many of the original bonds and licenses, when *in 1956,* Mr. Nave decided to copy and recheck all of the original bonds and licenses. It is from his copy that the following transcription is made." (Preface.)

Population Schedule of the United States Census of 1850 (Seventh Census) for Warren County, Tennessee. (McMinnville: Womack Printing Co., 1958. Pp. 180. Map, index. $4.50.)

"The following copy of the population schedule for Warren County, Tennessee, 1850, was made from a microfilm copy of the original record on file in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. Though every effort to produce an accurate copy has been made, errors may be found owing to the difficulty of reading parts that were almost illegible; also to errors in typing. It will be noted that many of the names are phonetic. No attempt has been made to change the spelling used by the enumerator, A. C. Rodgers." (Foreword.)

Magnificent Missourian: The Life of Thomas Hart Benton. By Elbert B. Smith. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958. Pp. 351. Notes, index. $6.00.)

"In April, 1858, the citizens of the sovereign state of Missouri were moved by a universal topic of conversation. Thomas Hart Benton was coming home for the last time. This huge, domineering man, with his inexhaustible energy, indomitable will, and savage temper, had overshadowed their political lives from the noisy, brawling, boastful days of his younger manhood down through the final hours when he had stamped among them with the angry yet majestic tread of an old buffalo. But now he was dead, and friend and foe alike paused to measure the significance of his passing." (Foreword.)

The Building of TVA: An Illustrated History. By John H. Kyle. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958. Pp. 162. $7.50.)

"The purpose of this book is to present the work of TVA in words and, above all, in pictures. For the tremendous power and scope, and—as David E. Lilienthal justly put it—the 'honest beauty' of TVA's accomplishment can be fully grasped only by seeing it.

"The dams, bridges, steam plants, and other structures reproduced here represent some of the noblest architecture and engineering produced in the

United States. As TVA has set the pattern for river valley development projects the world over, TVA's architects and engineers have established a mode in heavy industrial design that constitutes an important chapter in the history of man's effort to build." (Jacket.)

The Overmountain Men. By Pat Alderman and Bernie Andrews. (Erwin, Tenn.: Pat Alderman, Rock Creek Road, Erwin, 1958. Pp. 61. Illustrations, bibliography. ($2.25.)

"The pictorial history of Tennessee during the years from 1760 through 1780, its earliest settlements and struggles for survival within the isolated wilderness of the Appalachians.

"This is the first in a series of pictorial books covering the thrilling and colorful history of Tennessee, invaluable to students, general historians, and individuals who desire a compact, accurate, illustrated volume of Americana." (Adv't.)

Public Education in Tennessee: Grades 1 through twelve. A Report to The Education Survey Subcommittee of The Tennessee Legislative Council. Submitted by James E. Gibbs, Director of the Study. (Nashville: State of Tennessee, 1957. Pp. xxx, 487.)

"The survey was organized in six major parts: (1) An analysis of social and economic conditions influencing education; (2) Curriculum and instruction; (3) Teacher personnel; (4) Legal structure, organizations, and administration; (5) School buildings and transportation; and, (6) Public school finance.

"Six state-wide study or work committees composed of lay citizens, professional educators, and governmental officials were appointed, each to be responsible for the specific plans for its phase of the study and for organizing and conducting it. Each work committee had the assistance and advice of professional consultants as needed." (Foreword.)

The Tennessee Utility District: A Problem in Urbanization. By Arthur B. Winter. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1958. Published for the Bureau of Public Administration and Municipal Technical Advisory Service, The University of Tennessee. Pp. 100. Footnotes, tables, appendix, index.)

"One of the most characteristic features of life in the United States at present is the incomplete and unsatisfactory condition of urban-type services in the fringe areas of cities. Attempts to remedy this condition have often been made in the form of special districts with limited functions. Tennessee has not escaped this type of activity. Dr. Winter's study describes the Tennessee development." (Foreword.)

A Study of the Community of LaFollette, Tennessee. Presented by Tennessee State Library and Archives, Public Libraries Division, Clinch-Powell Region, Mrs. Helen H. Kittrell, Librarian. (Nashville: Public Libraries Division, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1957. Pp. 51 + appendices. Map, charts.)

"It was hoped that the information gathered concerning the needs and interests of the adults in the community would provide a sound basis for developing a long-term library adult education program in LaFollette. The element of appraisal found in the study should also be useful in the present administration of the library program." (Page 1.)

Preliminary Draft, Proposed Metropolitan Government Charter for Knoxville and Knox County to be Known as the Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan

Government. (Knoxville: The Metropolitan Government Charter Commission, 1958. Pp. 129.)

"Under authority of Chapter 120, Public Acts of 1957 of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, the Metropolitan Government Charter Commission was organized in 1957 by the City of Knoxville and Knox County. The members of this Commission were selected in equal numbers by the Mayor of the City of Knoxville and by the Chairman of the Knox County Commission. The present draft of charter is a finished but tentative draft. The Commission will file a final proposed draft with the Knox County Election Commission not later than January 6, 1959. This present draft is published for the consideration of the general public." (Foreword.)

Reelfoot: Plan for Comprehensive Development. (Nashville: Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1958. Pp. 85. Illustrations, maps. $1.00.)

Although devoted largely to recommendations for achieving development of Reelfoot Lake as a recreation center, one chapter (II) deals with "History and Background."

A List of Tennessee State Publications, No. 4. (Nashville: State Library Division, Tennessee State Library and Archives, 1957.)

This number includes all 1956 Tennessee State Imprints received by the State Library since *List* No. 3 was compiled.

The American Indian in Graduate Studies: A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations. Compiled by Frederick J. Dockstader. (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation [*Contributions,* Vol. XV], 1957. Pp. xvii, 399. Index. $5.00.)

"This bibliography lists those theses and dissertations which deal in any way with the American Indian, as presented for graduate degree requirements at colleges and universities in the United States, Canada and Mexico from 1890 to 1955." (Preface.)

The Story of Two Chairs: A Fairy Tale That is Truer Than False. By Edith Scott. (Bristol, Tenn.: Privately printed, 1957. Pp. 103. Illustrations.)

This work contains several letters written from "Swan Pond," the home of Francis A. Ramsey, near Knoxville, and much information about the Ramsey family.

"This Infernal War": The Confederate Letters of Sgt. Edwin H. Fay. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley, with the assistance of Lucy E. Fay. (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1958. Pp. viii, 474. Frontispiece, map on end papers, appendix, footnotes, index. $6.00.)

"Orderly Sergeant Edwin Hedge Fay volunteered on April 4, 1862, to fight for the South, but once in the Confederate army he was beset with misgivings both about the way the war was being conducted and about affairs back home. This series of remarkable letters to his wife in Minden, Louisiana, records his penetrating, first-hand observations of the war and reflects his almost desperate concern for the welfare of his wife and children." (Jacket.)

The Crockett Tavern and Pioneer Museum ([Morristown: The Crockett Tavern], 1958. Pp. 22.)

This is a brochure describing the John Crockett Tavern, a replica built in 1957-1958 at the original site in Morristown of the tavern kept by David Crockett's father, which was David's boyhood home. Included is a brief sketch of David's career.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Vols. XXII, XXIII, *The Territory of Florida, 1821-1824; 1824-1828.* (Washington: General Services Administration, 1956, 1958. Pp. 1129, 1191. Footnotes, index. $8.25, $6.50.)

The first volume of this collection of documents relating to Florida Territory is of especial interest to Tennesseans because Andrew Jackson served as the first governor of the territory. Both volumes include numerous references to former Tennesseans.

Letters from the Correspondence of Brutus J. Clay, 1808-1878. Edited by Cassius M. Clay. (Paris, Ky.: Privately printed, 1958.)

This is a collection of reprints from the *Filson Club History Quarterly,* Vols. 30, 31, and 32 (1956-1957.) Included are some letters about the Battle of Mill Springs, at which the confederate general from Tennessee, Felix Zollicoffer, lost his life.

The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana, Volume I. Edited by John Duffy. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958. Pp. xvi, 522. Illustrations, footnotes, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

This is the first volume of a comprehensive two-volume medical history of Louisiana. The experiences have many parallels in Tennessee medical history, and some former Tennesseans, such as W. C. C. Claiborne, play important parts in the story.

Southern Kith and Kin: A Record of My Children's Ancestors. Vol. I, *The Locketts;* Vol. II, *The Davises;* Vol. III, *Major James Scarborough, His Ancestors and Descendants.* By Jewel Davis Scarborough. (Abilene, Texas: Abilene Printing Company, 1951-1957. Pp. 250, 270, 218. Illustrations, indexes.)

"In doing the research for this book, I am impressed anew with the fact that history teachers, the world over, seem to have neglected to arouse the interest of students in the *People* behind the great movements in our history, and the importance to our free world of not only the Declaration of Independence, and the War of the Revolution, but of the early struggles, in various parts of our country, that motivated the final united effort that resulted in our freedom and independence. The struggles in North Carolina, culminating in the Battle of Alamance, and followed by the great trek over the mountains to Transylvania, the Wautauga [*sic*] Settlement, and Kentucky, was probably the most important, and far reaching of these movements. These same men who struggled in the wilderness, because they were determined to be free, were the heroes of King's Mountain, and Cowpens, and followed through with General Jackson in the Indian Wars, in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and on to New Orleans in the War of 1812. Their children and kinsmen were the leaders who came to Texas to fight for independence there, suffered martyrdom and death at Goliad and at the Alamo, and rejoiced in the final victory at the Battle of San Jacinto. They remembered their own pioneering days in the wilderness of Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama, and though many of them were not even residents of Texas, they were eager to assist their fellow Americans in a war against an unjust tyrant." (Foreword, Vol. III.)

Christopher Gist of Maryland and Some of His Descendants, 1679-1957. By Jean Muir and Maxwell Jay Dorsey, Urbana, Ill. (Chicago: John S. Swift Co., Inc., 1958. Pp. 296. Illustrations, maps, index. $12.50.)

"This history of the Gist Family begins with the coming of Christopher Gist, and his wife, Edith Cromwell Gist, to the Province of Maryland in the year 1679. Many of their descendants have been traced to the present time. The records of the early generations have been compiled from many sources. Those of the later generations are based on the personal knowledge of living members of the family." (Preface.)

Leonard Shoun and His Wife Barbara Slemp Shoun of Johnson County, Tennessee and Their Descendants. By Carl B. Neal. (Olympia, Wash., 3324 Hoadley Rd.: Mimeographed, 1957. Pp. a-q, 259. Maps, index.)

This genealogy is of especial interest to Tennesseans.

The Donnelly, Barry and Butler Families and Their Kinfolks of Johnson County, Tennessee. By Carl B. Neal. (Olympia, Wash., 3324 Hoadley Rd.: Mimeographed, 1958. Pp. 158. Map.)

This genealogy is of especial interest to Tennesseans.

Some Historical Facts About the Chiles Family. Recorded by John R. Chiles. (Lockhart, Fla.: John R. Chiles, 1957. Pp. 37. Illustrations.)

"By this I mean an effort to set up the names of the descendents [*sic*] of my great grand-father Paul Chiles, who they married, where they lived, the number and names of their children, and other facts of interest that were obtainable." (p. 2.)

Genealogy of the McDonald Family. Revision of Edition B, Comprising all Names obtained up to February, 1957. (Knoxville: Reproduced by White Stores, 1957. Pp. 150. Index.)

This family has numerous descendants in Tennessee.

You Take It From Here. By Marshall Wilson. (Knoxville: Privately mimeographed, 1958.)

This is a carefully compiled genealogy of the Wilson and related families.

NOTES AND NEWS, 1957

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. "The Knoxville Community Chest, 1922-1935," by Charles Fred Donehoo, of Knoxville.

FEBRUARY. "Accumulating History by Tape Recording," by John H. Dougherty, M.D., of Knoxville.

MARCH. "A Review of *History of Blount County, Tennessee,*" by Inez Burns, of Maryville.

APRIL. "The University of Tennessee During the Administration of Brown Ayres," by James R. Montgomery, of Knoxville.

MAY. The Society held a joint meeting with the Polk County Historical Association in Benton on Saturday, May 4. The theme of the meeting was "The History of Polk County."

Beginning at noon a tour was conducted to the Copper Basin with Mr. R. E. Barclay as guide. At three o'clock a tour of sites in Polk County was begun from the First Baptist Church. The places visited were: the site of Columbus; the Indian War Path, the graves of Nancy Ward and Five Killer, the Hilderbrand House, and in Benton, Fort Marr.

At 6:30 P.M. a dinner program was held at the Benton Elementary School. Roy G. Lillard, president of the Polk County Historical Association, presided. The welcome was given by Mr. Everett Bates, Mr. J. A. Higgins, and Mrs. John L. Brewer.

Mr. Lillard served as program chairman and introduced the speakers and their subjects. They were:

Mr. Dan O. Clemmer, Jr., "The Indians of Polk County."

Dr. Henry T. Malone, "Cherokees of the Old South."

Mr. Harold Price, "A Glimpse of Polk County's History."

Mr. R. E. Barclay, "The Copper Basin and Related Industries."

Mrs. Burch Glenn Biggs gave a solo.

The Benton Hobby Club prepared a series of exhibits. The antique display was arranged by Mrs. Billie James, Mrs. George Eldredge, Mrs. Charles Itzel, and Mrs. Bill Bowman, Jr.

The officers of the Polk County Historical Association are: Roy G. Lillard, president; Mrs. John L. Brewer, vice-president; Miss Margaret Williamson, secretary; Mr. Dan O. Clemmer and Mr. R. E. Barclay, Executive Committee.

OCTOBER. "Laura Elizabeth Luttrell," by Mary U. Rothrock, of Knoxville. This program was a tribute to Miss Luttrell, who responded with a discussion of historical societies in East Tennessee.

NOVEMBER. "The East Tennessee Campaign and the Battle of Knoxville," by Harold S. Fink, of Knoxville.

DECEMBER. "The Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Tennessee," by Prentiss Price, of Rogersville.

At this meeting the following officers were elected for the year 1958: president: James Burn, Niota; vice-presidents: Knoxville area: Mrs. Henry R. Duncan, Knoxville; Upper East Tennessee: W. F. Rogers, East Tennessee State College; Lower East Tennessee: Cartter Patten, Chattanooga; secretary: Pollyanna Creekmore, Lawson McGhee Library; treasurer: R. C. d'Armand, Knoxville; members of the executive committee: I. N. Carr, Jefferson City; Paul Kelley, Laura E. Luttrell, Mary U. Rothrock, Marshall A. Wilson, Knoxville. Stanley J. Folmsbee and LeRoy P. Graf, University of Tennessee, were re-elected managing editor and associate editor of the *Publications*. W. Neil Franklin and Culver H. Smith were re-elected to the board of editors. Prentiss Price of Rogersville was elected editor of *Echoes*.

Other News

The McClung Award, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville to the contributor of the best article in the Society's annual *Publications,* was awarded for the year 1957 to Harold S. Fink, University of Tennessee, for his "The East Tennessee Campaign and the Battle of Knoxville in 1863." The judges were Robert G. Crawford, East Tennessee State College, William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin, and Edwin A. Miles, University of Houston.

The Executive Committee of the Society on March 26 considered a proposal made by John Dougherty, M.D., and decided to undertake a project of making tape recordings of voices of officials, prominent citizens, and visitors in the Knoxville area, as well as of other events of local historical importance. A committee was appointed to consider ways and means.

At the annual dinner of the Tennessee Historical Society at Belle Meade Mansion, May 14, Robert T. Quarles, Jr., of Nashville, was elected president, and Robert L. Kincaid, of Harrogate, vice-president for East Tennessee.

The Tennessee Historical Commission on May 3 elected William Waller of Nashville and vice-chancellor Edward McGrady of the University of the South to fill two vacancies in its membership. It also created the new position of executive secretary and named William T. Alderson, editor of the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* and formerly senior archivist of the Tennessee State Library and Archives, to that post. Dr. Alderson's major duties will be editing the Commission's publications, continuing the highway marking program, collecting historical manuscripts and newspapers, and doing field work on the restoration of historic places. In December the Commission voted an appropriation to aid in the restoration of the John Sevier home in Knoxville.

The Fort Loudoun Association on July 27 held impressive ceremonies at the site of Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee River commemorating the 200th anniversary of the completion of the fort by South Carolina during the French and Indian War in 1757. Charles F. Wayland served as chairman and the Reverend Charles C. Demere of Tipton, Georgia, a descendant of Captain Paul Demere who was commander of the fort when it fell to the Indians in 1760, pronounced the invocation. Hugh F. Van Deventer, Jr., presided. The leading speakers were Chief Jarrett Blythe of the Cherokee Nation, Cherokee, North Carolina, and Ray Jenkins, prominent Knoxville attorney and a former president of the Association. The East Tennessee Historical Society assisted in promoting the celebration and has consistently aided the Association's work in connection with the restoration of this historic landmark.

On December 3-6 the 150th anniversary of the founding of Bedford County was commemorated, with Governor Frank G. Clement as featured speaker.

The David Crockett State Park, near Lawrenceburg, was opened in October. Lawrenceburg was one of the several homes of David Crockett. At his boyhood home near Morristown, the John Crockett Tavern, run by his father, was in the process of being restored.

The Andrew Johnson home was restored to its 1869-1875 status as a part of Mission 66, a National Park improvement project. It was carried out under the direction of Harry Wandrus and Vera Craig of the National Park Service, with Professor Ernest A. Connally, associate professor of architecture, University of Illinois, acting as consultant. Professor Connally's article about the home and its restoration, "The Andrew Johnson Homestead at Greeneville, Tennessee," was printed in *Publications* No. 29.

The Chattanooga Area Historical Association formally requested city and county officials to take whatever action might be necessary "to preserve the natural beauty of Moccasin Bend," in view of the threat that the Bend might be developed for industrial purposes.

At the 23rd annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, at Houston, Texas, November 7-9, Robert S. Henry, vice-president of the Association of American Railroads and a native of Tennessee, delivered the presidential address, "West by South." Walter B. Posey of Agnes Scott College and Emory University was elected to succeed him as president, thereby becoming the fourth native Tennesseean in succession to serve as president of the Association. The chairman of the Program Committee for the meeting was Stanley J. Folmsbee, managing editor of our *Publications*. Associate Editor LeRoy P. Graf was a member of the Executive Council of the Association. Among those reading papers at the meeting were Harold S. Fink, University of Tennessee, a former president of our Society, and Weymouth T. Jordan, Florida State University, a member of our board of editors. Robert E. Corlew, Middle Tennessee State College, read a paper on "The Negro in Tennessee Politics, 1865-1900," and Culver H. Smith of the University of Chattanooga, a former president of our Society, presided over one of the sessions.

LeRoy P. Graf and Ralph W. Haskins of the University of Tennessee began work as co-editors of several volumes of the papers of Andrew Johnson under the sponsorship of the National Historical Publications Commission, Washington, D. C., of which Philip M. Hamer, a former president of our Society and editor of its *Publications,* is executive secretary. The Tennessee Historical Commission has granted financial aid to the project. Professors Graf and Haskins would greatly appreciate information concerning any letters to or from Johnson which may be in existence.

The James D. Hoskins Library of the University of Tennessee acquired the papers of Campbell Wallace, who served as president of the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad before the Civil War.

On October 15 Bell I. Wiley of Emory University, delivered the second in a series of Goodwin Institute lectures at Memphis. His topic was "The Invaded Land." He was accompanied to the meeting by his mother, Mrs. Ewing Baxter Wiley of Halls, who was voted Tennessee's "Mother of the Year," for 1957.

Rembert W. Patrick of the University of Florida delivered the fifth series of J. P. Young Lectures in American History at Memphis State University, October 27, 28, and 29. His topic was "Social Changes in the New South."

Resolution

ON FORT LOUDOUN

The East Tennessee Historical Society has learned with great regret that only $5,000 from the $50,000 appropriated by the 1955 Legislature for the restoration and maintenance of Fort Loudoun has thus far been released.

Fort Loudoun was the first significant structure built by English-speaking people in Tennessee. As the first English settlement in our state, 1756, and the earliest of our pioneer forts, it is a priceless, historic heritage and is justly called the cradle of Tennessee history. Marking as it does the climax of the struggle between France and Great Britain for possession of the Mississippi Valley, it is also an important shrine in our national colonial history.

The East Tennessee Historical Society has been interested in preserving this unique historic spot. In 1936 the Society urged the restoration of this colonial fort—the only such structure in Tennessee available for preservation.

We are convinced also that the restored fort, and even the activities connected with its restoration, will quickly become a significant feature in Tennessee's list of tourist attractions, and upon restoration will become completely self-supporting.

THEREFORE, Governor Clement, the East Tennessee Historical Society, representing approximately 500 members, respectfully urges you to release to the Fort Loudoun Association the $45,000 balance now in the state treasury, which remains unpaid from the $50,000 appropriation made by the 1955 Legislature. The release is especially important now, in this bicentennial anniversary of the building of the fort.

This resolution was adopted at a regular meeting held March 1, 1957, and the secretary was instructed to send copies to the Governor and to the local papers.

Respectfully submitted,

I. N. Carr, President

Pollyanna Creekmore, Secretary

March 1, 1957

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

Mary U. Rothrock, Knoxville, Tennessee, is a charter member, a past president, and a member of the board of editors and of the executive committee of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

Leota Driver Maiden, a teacher at Cohn High School, Nashville, is the widow of Carl Driver, author of *John Sevier,* with whom she worked in gathering material for the study of John Williams. She has a Ph.D. from Vanderbilt and is the author of a biography of Fanny Kemble.

Stanley J. Folmsbee, professor of history, University of Tennessee, is managing editor of the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications.*

Anna Grace Catron is a teacher in the Morristown, Tennessee, High School.

Edwin J. Best, Maryville, Tennessee, is budget analyst for the Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville.

D. C. Corbitt is head of the Department of History and Government, Asbury College, Wilmore, Kentucky. His wife, Roberta Corbitt, assisted in the translations.

Pollyanna Creekmore is assistant in charge of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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2. Papers must relate to some phase of the history of Tennessee—social, economic, political, constitutional, legal, religious, military, or biographical.

3. Originality, scholarship, power of interpretation, clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and literary form shall be the tests applied by the judges.

4. Citation of authorities in footnotes is required.

These awards are in memory of Calvin M. McClung, deceased, founder of a notable collection of Tennessee and Southern history, kept in rooms of the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

The winners of the previous awards and their contributions follow:

No. 1 (1929)—W. M. Caskey, "First Administration of Governor Andrew Johnson."

No. 2 (1930)—W. B. Hesseltine, "The Underground Railroad from Confederate Prisons to East Tennessee."

No. 3 (1931)—W. B. Hesseltine, "Methodism and Reconstruction in East Tennessee."

No. 4 (1932)—W. Neil Franklin, "Virginia and the Cherokee Indian Trade, 1673-1752."

No. 5 (1933)—S. J. Folmsbee, "Beginnings of the Railroad Movement in East Tennessee."

No. 6 (1934)—Culver H. Smith, "Propaganda Technique in the Jackson Campaign of 1828."

No. 7 (1935)—A. C. Hutson, Jr., "The Coal Miners' Insurrections of 1891 in Anderson County, Tennessee."

No. 8 (1936)—A. C. Hutson, Jr., "The Overthrow of the Convict Lease System in Tennessee."

No. 9 (1937)—Powell Moore, "James K. Polk and Tennessee Politics, 1839-1841."

No. 10 (1938)—Mary R. Campbell, "Tennessee and the Union, 1847-1861."

No. 11 (1939)—W. T. Jordan, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Tennessee."

No. 12 (1940)—Harry Williams, "Andrew Johnson as a Member of the Committee on the conduct of the War."

No. 13 (1941)—W. T. Jordan, "The Private Interests and Activities of George Washington Campbell."

No. 14 (1942)—Joseph H. Parks, "Memphis Under Military Rule, 1862-1865."

No. 15 (1943)—William C. Binkley, "Some Undeveloped Phases of Tennessee History."

No. 16 (1944)—Joseph H. Parks, "John Bell and Secession."

No. 17 (1945)—Thomas D. Clark, "The Country Store in Post-Civil War Tennessee."

No. 18 (1946)—Arthur S. Link, "Democratic Politics and the Presidential Campaign of 1912 in Tennessee."

No. 19 (1947)—James B. Campbell, "East Tennessee During the Federal Occupation 1863-1865."

No. 20 (1948)—James B. Campbell, "East Tennessee During the Radical Regime, 1865-1869."

No. 21 (1949)—W. H. G. Armytage, "New Light on the English Background of Thomas Hughes' Rugby Colony in Tennessee."

No. 22 (1950)—William N. Chambers, "Thwarted Warrior: The Last Years of Thomas Hart Benton in Tennessee, 1812-1815."

No. 23 (1951)—William H. Masterson, "William Blount and the Establishment of the Southwest Territory, 1790-1791."

No. 24 (1952)—Thomas B. Alexander, "Strange Bedfellows: The Interlocking Careers of T. A. R. Nelson, Andrew Johnson, and W. G. (Parson) Brownlow."

No. 25 (1953)—Charles G. Sellers, Jr., "James K. Polk's Political Apprenticeship."

No. 26 (1954)—Russell L. Stockard, "The Election and First Administration of Ben W. Hooper as Governor of Tennessee."

No. 27 (1955)—Frank B. Williams, Jr., "The East Tennessee Education Association, 1903-1954."

No. 28 (1956)—Henry T. Malone, "Return Jonathan Meigs: Indian Agent Extraordinary."

No. 29 (1957)—Harold S. Fink, "The East Tennessee Campaign and the Battle of Knoxville, 1863."